

1992

To pursue the blessings of prosperity: Economic reductionism and higher education reform, 1983-1988

Lorna Peterson
Iowa State University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd>



Part of the [Higher Education and Teaching Commons](#), and the [Sociology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Peterson, Lorna, "To pursue the blessings of prosperity: Economic reductionism and higher education reform, 1983-1988 " (1992). *Retrospective Theses and Dissertations*. 10339.
<https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd/10339>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Iowa State University Capstones, Theses and Dissertations at Iowa State University Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Retrospective Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Iowa State University Digital Repository. For more information, please contact digirep@iastate.edu.

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Order Number 9234842

**To pursue the blessings of prosperity: Economic reductionism
and higher education reform, 1983–1988**

Peterson, Lorna, Ph.D.

Iowa State University, 1992

Copyright ©1992 by Peterson, Lorna. All rights reserved.

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

To pursue the blessings
of prosperity:
Economic reductionism and
higher education reform, 1983-1988

by

Lorna Peterson

A Dissertation Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department: Professional Studies in Education
Major: Education (Higher Education)

Approved:

Signature was redacted for privacy.

In Charge of Major Work

Signature was redacted for privacy.

For the Department

Signature was redacted for privacy.

For the Education Major

Signature was redacted for privacy.

For the Graduate College

Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa

1992

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
INTRODUCTION	1
Reforming American higher education, 1983-88	1
Criticism of the 1983-88 higher education reform documents	2
Purpose of the study	5
Problems of interpretation	10
Research questions	16
Assumptions, approach and method	18
Significance	28
CHAPTER ONE: THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM	34
Yale Report of 1828	38
Abraham Flexner, <i>Universities: American, English, German</i> (1930) ...	48
Rockefeller Brothers' Fund, <i>The Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America</i> (1958)	57
Legislation and higher education reform	66
CHAPTER TWO: TURNING THE KALEIDOSCOPE: MAKING SENSE OF HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM LITERATURE	71
The need to rally	72
The need to organize	78

The need to understand	85
CHAPTER THREE: AN ANALYSIS OF SELECTED HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM DOCUMENTS	90
<i>Involvement in Learning: Realizing the Potential of American Higher Education</i>	91
<i>Integrity in the College Curriculum</i>	97
<i>'To Secure the Blessings of Liberty'</i>	101
<i>In the National Interest: Higher Education and Federal Government, the Essential Partnership</i>	110
<i>Tomorrow's Teachers: A Report of the Holmes Group</i>	115
<i>One Third of a Nation: A Report of the Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life</i>	119
<i>America's Competitive Challenge</i>	124
<i>A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century</i>	129
CHAPTER FOUR: TO PURSUE THE BLESSINGS OF PROSPERITY: ECONOMIC REDUCTIONISM AND HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM, 1983-1988	137
BIBLIOGRAPHY	149
APPENDIX A TAXONOMY OF EDUCATION REFORM CRISIS	165
APPENDIX B SELECTIVE CHRONOLOGY OF FEDERAL LEGISLATION AND HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM	167
APPENDIX C LIST OF PANELISTS FOR SELECTED DOCUMENTS	172

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to many people who have contributed support and guidance in my writing of this thesis. This dissertation would never have been conceived or written without the interest and encouragement of my major professor Dr. George A. Kizer. He has been a source of support and wisdom. I have appreciated my opportunity to study under him throughout this process. Also, I have felt fortunate to have a committee who showed a sincere interest in my work. Special thanks are reserved for Dr. Cynthia Dobson who has shared her insights on sociological matters and Dr. David Owen who became involved in my project very late in the process and took an active interest beyond what the average graduate student should expect. He has been a superb editor, but better than that, he has been an excellent teacher.

My progress would have been impeded if it had not been for two very supportive work environments. First I would like to thank the Bibliographic Instruction Department of the Iowa State University Library and its members Trudy Jacobson, Lillian Kraft, Rae Haws, Carolyn Yorgensen and Diana Shonrock. As my friends and colleagues they shared the false starts, the inspiration, and the development of my research with me. I could not have accomplished the work leading up to the dissertation if it wasn't for the flexibility in the leadership of the department by Trudy Jacobson and Rae Haws. Carolyn

Yorgensen provided her typing skills and her interest. Lillian Kraft exhibited a belief in my abilities that sustained me through some low moments. Second I would like to thank the School of Information and Library Studies at the State University of New York at Buffalo. Dean George S. Bobinski has been a believer in me and supporter. I am forever indebted in his interest in hiring me and allowing me the blocks of time to write. Dr. Suzanne Hildenbrand is thanked for her enlightening conversations that we have held in the hallways of SILS. Halina McKay is thanked for her expert typing. Rita Packard is thanked for her assistance in making my transition from librarian to library science faculty member smooth.

I am indebted to my friends who are too many to list, but I would like to express special thanks to Peggi Hunt-Evans and Dava James for being there and understanding my frustrations and allowing me to behave irrationally without questions. The Rev. Susan Nowicki, a longtime and dear friend, also patiently listened and helped. Corinne Colman would address her letters to me as "Dr." knowing when I needed the encouragement to continue.

Finally it is with deepest gratitude and love that I acknowledge my family. Thanks to my brothers Raymond, David and Daryl who never wavered in their belief that I would complete this task. My deepest thanks are reserved for my parents Raymond and Sybil Peterson who have shown patient support, never questioning my abilities, and therefore being a well spring of confidence.

INTRODUCTION

Reforming American higher education, 1983-1988

The publication of *A Nation at Risk*¹ in 1983 fueled an intense interest in all levels of schooling and although its emphasis was on the elementary and secondary schools, its message was not lost on colleges and universities. Higher education scrutinized its purpose, curriculum, costs and direction during the period 1983 to 1988. Criticism and calls for reform of higher education came from individuals, higher education institutions, and blue ribbon commissions.² A movement to reform higher education developed and can be identified as a movement from the number of reports issued during the period 1983 to 1988.³

How was the movement received? As with most movements, there were followers and critics. Followers praised the reports and made their attempts at implementing reform.⁴ Critics denounced the reports in both the popular and

1. National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983).

2. Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987). E. D. Hirsch, *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987). Thomas S. Popkewitz, *A Political Sociology of Educational Reform* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1991).

3. Popkewitz, 104-5. George Leonard, "The End of School" *Atlantic Monthly* (May 1992): 24.

4. For examples see *Teachers College Record* 88 (Spring 1987): 311-478. This is an issue devoted to the Holmes Group Report. United States. Department of Education, *The Nation Responds: Recent Efforts to Improve Education* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1984).

scholarly media.⁵ This debate ensured that education and its reform was a high profile topic during the latter part of the 1980s and the issue became part of the national consciousness.

Criticism of the 1983-1988 higher education reform documents

As documents and reports were issued calling for reform, the reports were either enthusiastically embraced or scornfully rejected. Scholars of higher education were woefully aware of the repetition of earlier reforms called for in the 1983 to 1988 documents and criticized the reports on this basis of repetition. Broadly this criticism fell into three categories: impressionistic, evidentiary and political.

Impressionistic criticism is characterized by language that is broad and sweeping, lacking the necessary details to assist in the development of an objective viewpoint.⁶ An impression of dissatisfaction is given but without the specific details in order to make a thoughtful judgment. For example, impressionistic criticism of higher education reform describes the movement as nostalgic, innocuous and repetitive.⁷ There is a sense of irritation and impatience with the existence of

5. Arthur Levine, "No golden age of higher education has been lost, because none ever existed" *Chronicle of Higher Education* 34 (February 3, 1988): B2. Paul E. Peterson, "Did the Education Commissions Say Anything?" *The Brookings Review* 2 (Winter 1983): 3-11. Andrew Hacker, "The Decline of Higher Learning" *New York Review of Books* 33 (February 13, 1986): 35-42.

6. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, 3rd ed. s.v. "impressionism."

7. Levine, B2.

the reports because of the similarity to earlier reforms. In this type of critical writing, examples of past reforms and results of the reforms are not provided for in contrasting and deep detail. Analysis in impressionistic criticism goes no farther than to state that there have always been calls for reform and that the urgency for reform has always been great. The position is that reform is cyclical, always occurring, rarely contributing anything new.⁸ These critics believed that the reform effort of 1983 to 1988 was a predictable nuisance that would vanish when the American collective imagination found another crisis to decry. In the impressionistic scheme, the reports were to be ignored for they presented nothing new and the same issues would be raised soon again. Dismissed as inconsequential, with little effort spent on analyzing the reform reports, the higher education reform documents in the impressionist's view are not deemed worthy of closer analysis.

Evidentiary criticism looks at facts to present in contrast to the sweeping generalizations of great educational decline.⁹ For an example of evidentiary criticism, Paul E. Peterson presented data affirming the successes achieved in the schools¹⁰ in response to the criticism of decline, crises, and erosion of public confidence in educational institutions. In evidentiary criticism there is a similar

8. G. Max Wingo, *Philosophies of Education: An Introduction* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1974): 346-48.

9. Webster's s.v. "evidentiary."

10. Peterson, *Brookings Review*.

irritation found in the impressionistic criticism with the repetitive nature of education reform, but evidentiary criticism seeks and uses empirical facts to answer the criticism leveled by the reform reports.

Political criticism seeks to show a deliberate agenda by a political ideology to manipulate education reform for its own political ends. On the left, the education reform movement was viewed as a conservative restoration seeking to diminish or destroy the liberal reforms of the 1960s and 1970s.¹¹ Representatives of this view are Ira Shor, Marguerite Ross Barnett, Charles C. Harrington, and Philip V. White. Shor documents the reversals of 1960s protest by the conservative educational objectives of the 1980s.¹² Barnett, Harrington and White edited a journal issue devoted to the critical analysis of educational policy during a conservative administration.¹³ On the right, a reform within a reform appeared with the articulation of a perception that the political left dominated the academy, suppressing free speech and defiling the curriculum.¹⁴

11. Ira Shor, *Culture Wars: School and Society in the Conservative Restoration, 1969-1984* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986).

12. Ibid.

13. Marguerite Ross Barnett, Charles C. Harrington, and Philip V. White, eds. *Education Policy in an Era of Conservative Reform* Readings on Equal Education, vol. 9, (New York: AMS Press, 1986).

14. "Conservative Scholars Call for a Movement to 'Reclaim' Academy" *Chronicle of Higher Education* (November 23, 1988): A1, A11. Popkewitz, 114.

Unlike impressionistic and evidentiary criticism, political criticism does not dismiss the importance in the appearance of reform documents. Because the criticism is political in orientation, the evaluation of the documents, the scrutiny of the issuing agencies and analysis of the content within the reports is given high priority. In political criticism the higher education reform documents of 1983 to 1988 were not viewed as pests that would soon vanish. The reform documents were criticized with a sense of alarm and led to a call to action.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to present an analysis of eight higher education reform documents written between 1983 to 1988 for an emphasis placed upon educating for a strong national economy. Also, the study will compare and contrast this movement with early literature dealing with higher education reform. For this analysis there is agreement with the political framework of criticism that the documents deserve study and scrutiny. Unlike the political framework of criticism, there is no political agenda or ideological purpose in writing this paper. Therefore a political analysis and criticism will not be attempted. Instead a language analysis approach using the framework of the sociology of knowledge will be taken. Language analysis has been selected to respond to what is stated in the reports. Within the sociology of knowledge framework, the language of the elites,

in this case the selected panelists and writers of the reports, is sanctified language.

By coming from the powerful and elite and thus being sanctified, a way of establishing social control and enforcing standards is set.

"The sociology of knowledge concerns itself primarily with the 'mind' of the group. It traces the laws and rhythms through which knowledge filters through downward from the top of society (the knowledge of the elite) to find out how knowledge distributes itself in time among groups and social levels and how society regulates such distribution of knowledge -- partially through institutions that disseminate it, such as schools and press, and partially through restrictions, such as secrets, indexes, censorship, . . . "15

Language is produced by the mind and therefore language analysis is an appropriate use of the sociology of knowledge. Sociology of knowledge is not ideology although it is close in concept, especially in the exploration of language analysis.¹⁶ This is not a conspiracy theory, but rather it is a theory that allows for panelist susceptibility to the prevailing political philosophy of 1983 to 1988.

Appendix C lists the members of the blue ribbon commissions writing the reports under study. Only those reports that published their panelists are listed in Appendix C.

15. Max Scheler. Trans. Manfred S. Frings. *Problems of a Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Kegan Paul, 1980): 70.

16. Malcolm B. Hamilton, "The Elements of the Concept of Ideology" *Political Studies* 35 (March 1987): 18-38.

The documents under study have been subjected to deliberate critical scrutiny with key passages brought to the fore to show an emphasis placed upon the economy and the individual as an economic input value. For the purpose of this study, this emphasis has been termed economic reductionism.

Economic reductionism has been defined as "attempts to explain sociopolitical-economic phenomena exclusively in terms of the intellectual categories of economics."¹⁷ In developing and defining the concept of economic reductionism, Karl Marx is often credited. This concept is explained by E.K. Hunt and Jesse G. Schwartz as

useful material objects have taken on a very peculiar and special form -- they have become commodities. A commodity is an object of utility produced for exchange on an autonomous market. Its properties are due to its twofold character. First, it is a useful object; secondly, when brought to the market it requires a definite social status, as a value...Furthermore, this reduction of all things to commodities by no means stops with material objects. 'With the increasing value of the world of things proceeds in direct proportion the devaluation of the world of men' (Marx, see Struick, 1970, p. 107).¹⁸

The impatience and irritation of impressionistic and evidentiary critics with the appearance of the higher education reform movement, although understandable,

17. Anthony Tinker, "Theories of the State and the State of Accounting: Economic Reductionism and Political Voluntarism in Accounting Regulation Theory" *Journal of Accounting and Public Policy* 3 (1984): 61.

18. E. K. Hunt and Jesse G. Schwartz, ed., *A Critique of Economic Theory* (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1972): 13.

is shortsighted. It cannot be denied that the 1983 to 1988 education reform movement was repetitious in its concerns of ill prepared students, poor quality teachers, an intellectually weak curriculum and the potential threat to national prosperity and security. If one compares these concerns to earlier reforms, specifically the Yale Report of 1828,¹⁹ and Abraham Flexner's Universities,²⁰ the similarity in problems, proposed solutions and the sense of urgency cannot be ignored. But should the 1983 to 1988 higher education reform movement be dismissed as insignificant and not have its language analyzed because it is repetitious in its statements of concerns? Time, money and effort were spent to produce the reform reports under study. This commitment in time and resources assumes an importance of the work by the group.²¹ To contribute to the understanding of that importance, critical analyses of the documents should be attempted.

An inspection of the reform documents reveals a connection to past reform movements, but subtle differences may also be detected. Two detected differences

19. Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, ed., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961): 276-87.

20. Abraham Flexner, *Universities: American, English, German* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930).

21. "Usually, actions are taken and policies adopted to realize envisaged goals, and they are undertaken because of belief that they will probably realize the goals." *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan and Free Press, 1967): 6. s.v. "Epistemology and Ethics, Parallel Between."

are an emphasis placed upon the economy and the use of language from the financial world. The higher education reform movement of 1983 to 1988 was more than repetitious, it was reductionist, specifically, economically reductionist.

The idea for this study began in 1986. Many of the reform reports and monographs were being discussed in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* and in faculty circles.²² In reading some of these reports, the concept of the citizen as worker was striking and therefore thought worthy of further study. Reading continued through 1989 while the bulk of the research was being conducted and the framework developed. By 1991 a draft was completed and it was in this year that Thomas S. Popkewitz's *A Political Sociology of Educational Reform* was published. His central thesis is that the 1980s reform is best understood within a social regulation framework.²³ Concern with economics, prosperity and rates of production are part of the process of social regulation and this is a significant concept in Popkewitz's work.²⁴ Because Popkewitz's work appeared well after the

22. "Carnegie panel asserts rebuilding of education system is needed to preserve U.S. living standard," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 32 (May 21, 1986): 1. "Best Selling Book Makes the Collegiate Curriculum a Burning Public Image," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 34 (September 16, 1987): A1, A22. "Allan Bloom and 'The Closing of the American Mind': Conclusions Too Neat, Too Clean, and Too Elite," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 34 (September 16, 1987): B2. "E. D. Hirsch's 'Cultural Literacy': A Cocktail Party View of Higher Education," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 34 (September 16, 1987): B2.

23. Popkewitz, 2.

24. Ibid, 2-3.

completion of the research and writing of this study, his work has received only passing reference as an afterthought and not as a primary thought.

Problems of interpretation

To criticize the higher education reform movement of 1983 to 1988 for its economic reductionism, it is important to note the long association between education and economic opportunity. The interest between schooling and wealth is firmly entrenched in American thought. Historically and philosophically, classical liberalism with its emphasis on the individual, capitalism, free enterprise, and economic opportunity provides a foundation on which the association between education and prosperity is built.²⁵ In 1986 the Gallup Poll first asked Americans why they valued education and Gallup repeated the question in 1989 and 1991. For over one third of Americans in 1986 and 1989, the value of education was for its better job opportunities.²⁶ The 1991 poll finds 73% of Americans stating that it is

25. Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972): 597. "Early liberalism was a product of England and Holland, and had certain well-marked characteristics . . . It valued commerce and industry . . . it had immense respect for the rights of property . . ." Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Knopf, 1966). Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

26. Stanley M. Elam and Alec M. Gallup, "The 21st Annual Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitude Toward the Public Schools" *Gallup Report* 288 (September 1989): 31-43.

very important to have a college degree for job opportunities and career advancement.²⁷ As the Gallup organization explains,

These polls have repeatedly shown how important people believe education to be for success in life . . . The pragmatic bent of the American mind is immediately apparent . . . knowledge of its own sake, good citizenship, and critical thinking skills [are] secondary [in importance].²⁸

Scholars of American character and thought also note the American interest in learning for earning. From Alexis de Tocqueville to Henry Steele Commager, it is observed that the interest in education reflects an interest in economic betterment.²⁹ But the reform movement of 1983 to 1988 does more than express an interest in education for the economy; it makes such an interest primary and recommends educational policy for achievement of specific economic goals. Education becomes reduced to an economic input value while the notions of discovery, curiosity, knowledge and wisdom are abandoned.

Defining and studying the links between education and the economy became a solid area of study in the 1960s. Traditional input measures of economic production, that is, land, labor and capital, were expanded to include the concept of

27. "How Americans View Higher Education" *On Campus* 11 (December 1991/January 1992): 2.

28. Elam and Gallup, 37.

29. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*. Commager, *American Mind*.

human capital and the characteristics of the quality of that human capital.³⁰ The relationship between education, a skilled work force and national prosperity has in some cases become a justification for the support of education. The value of education was no longer relegated to the realm of difficult to qualify values such as knowledge, truth and wisdom, but could now be measured in known, easily agreed upon, quantifiable values of capital, investment and dividends. With a predilection toward the pragmatic and material, it is no wonder that the theory of the economic input value of education was seized upon by panels of blue ribbon commissions to express the worth of education and justification for time consuming, expensive reform.

An American collective commitment to, and faith in, the potency of education contributes a critical desire for continued improvement.³¹ According to G. Max Wingo, the critical desire is predictable and confirms a pattern he recognizes in education reform. He identifies four stages to education reform and thus confirms a pattern of repetition.³² The first stage is a time of "profound

30. M. Woodhall, "Economics of Education: A Review" in *Economics of Education: Research and Studies*, ed. George Psacharopoulos (New York: Pergamon Press, 1987): 3.

31. Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), 299. Robert M. Hutchins, *Some Observations on American Education* (Cambridge, Eng.: University Press, 1956), 28. Rush Welter, *Popular Education and Democratic Thought in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 3.

32. Wingo, 347.

dissatisfaction; disenchantment, and deep-seated hostility . . . toward the established school system and its modes of education.³³ The 1960s cry for "relevancy" in the curriculum and the popularity of muckraking books on the boredom and waste occurring in the classroom represents this stage.³⁴ Reformers appear in the second stage. They are "a mixed bag, including sentimentalists, romantics, social radicals, serious students of pedagogy, and an assortment of crackpots. About all they have in common is a burning desire to change the system."³⁵ Open admissions, alternative schools, academic credits for life experience, discontinuance of letter or number grading, increased electives, and a smorgasbord of innovative responses in the 1960s to the old order were the rule. These innovations in turn promised universal literacy and increased cultural exposure thus reducing inequality among groups and individuals, an improved national economy by increasing the number of intelligent and skilled persons, a greater capacity for personal fulfillment by releasing creativity and latent talent, higher standards of taste through the diffusion of a liberal arts education, a community of people with similar education and similar values, better human relations through contact with diverse groups, and

33. G. Max Wingo, *Philosophies of Education: An Introduction* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1974), 347.

34. James Herndon, *The Way it Spozed to Be* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968). Herbert R. Kohl, *36 Children* (New York: New American Library, 1967).

35. Wingo, 347-48.

reaching the democratic ideal by improving the quality of civic life.³⁶ The third stage finds the passion of reform cooling. The promises cannot be met because of unrealistic goals, prohibitive costs, the strength of conservative influence in American education or other external forces. This disillusionment with the promises of reform introduces the conservative reaction of stage four. Similar to the liberal protest, the conservative movement has its roots embedded in social, political and economic events. The conservatives "fulminate against the anti-intellectualism, the soft-headed sentimentality, and abysmal ignorance of the products of the schools . . . [and they] call for a return to conventional time-tested modes of education, intellectual rigor, and social discipline."³⁷

If the higher education reform movement of 1983 to 1988 was by Wingo's model repetitive and criticized by its contemporary critics as unoriginal and repetitive, what interpretation may be given to the movement beyond the recognition of repetition?

The shift of the citizen as worker and education as an economic input value provides an opportunity to apply a new analysis to American higher education reform. Although the association between education and individual as well as

36. Diane Ravitch, *The Schools We Deserve, Reflections on the Educational Crises of Our Times* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 31-32.

37. Wingo, 349.

national prosperity is firmly entrenched in American thought, the use of economic language in the reform reports suggests an economically reductionist philosophy and presents an opportunity for interpretation.

An analysis of *Involvement in Learning*,³⁸ *Integrity in the College Curriculum*,³⁹ *In the National Interest*,⁴⁰ *'To Secure the Blessings of Liberty'*,⁴¹ *Tomorrow's Teachers*,⁴² *One Third of a Nation*,⁴³ *America's Competitive Challenge*,⁴⁴ and *A Nation Prepared*⁴⁵ is presented for what has been identified as economic reductionism. These documents were identified as the universe of

38. Study Group on the Conditions of Excellence in American Higher Education, *Involvement in Learning: Realizing the Potential of American Higher Education* (Alexandria, Va.: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 246 833, 1984).

39. Project on Redefining the Meaning and Purpose of Baccalaureate Degrees, *Integrity in the College Curriculum: A Report to the Academic Community* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges, 1985).

40. National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, *In The National Interest: Higher Education and the Federal Government, the Essential Partnership* (Washington, D.C.: NASULGC, 1983-84).

41. "'To Secure the Blessings of Liberty': Text of Report on State Colleges' Role" *Chronicle of Higher Education* 12 November 1986, 29-36.

42. "Text of Education - School Deans' Report on Reforms in Teacher Training" *Chronicle of Higher Education* 9 April 1986, 27-37.

43. Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life, *One-Third of a Nation* (Alexandria, Va.: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 297 057, 1988).

44. Business-Higher Education Forum, *America's Competitive Challenge: The Need for a National Response* (Washington, D.C.: Business-Higher Education Forum, 1983).

45. Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy. Task Force on Teaching as a Profession. *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century* (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1986).

American higher education reform documents written between 1983 to 1988 and meeting the criteria set forth on page 17. The author hopes there have been no omissions. Every effort has been made to identify the reform reports of the movement. If an omission occurs, it was not deliberate.

Deliberate inquiry into the ideas and recommendations of the eight reform documents will give a fuller interpretation of the reform movement and provide an insight beyond the observation of repetition. Analysis will not be for accurate predictability. Examination of the problem has been from a broad base with the goal of scholarly objectivity. Judgment was governed by a commitment to scholarly activity, intellectual integrity, and self-control. Accuracy, honesty, and self-awareness are the hallmarks of good historical reporting⁴⁶ and have been attempted here.

Research questions

The study of these reports has been guided by the following questions:

1. Have economic motives for education dominated democratic motives placing the economic interests of the nation before civic and individual interests?
2. Is there an emphasis on the citizen as worker?
3. Is there usage of financial terms to describe education and the citizen?

46. Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, *The Modern Researcher*, 4th ed. (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985): 56-58.

4. Is there a stated belief in a relationship between a highly educated work force and a productive economy?

These research questions are asked within the context of larger social events in the United States such as a strongly conservative presidential administration, the growth of service and information industries, and the technological success of Japan. Combined, these events have helped shape the ideas set forth in the education reform documents and influence the emphasis on economics.

Thomas Popkewitz delineates the economic tensions of globalization of business and the concern of U.S. economic power decline from the 1930s to the present and concludes that the education movement of the 1980s is part of a transformation having national and international dimensions.⁴⁷ He states:

The current debates about the decline of foreign markets, trade imbalances, and the burgeoning obligation of a welfare system are part of long-term transformations. They are given new immediacy by the rise of the Pacific ring, the European Community, and changes in Eastern Europe, all part of an international economy that reaches directly into the nation's domestic production and fiscal policies . . . *A Nation at Risk* . . . noted these long-term changes but defined them as a national problem of loss of power and in terms of instrumental relations of schooling to economic issues. Public discussion suggests that the current reform proposals in teaching and teacher education are

47. Popkewitz, 110-14.

positioned as a response directly linked to economic issues.⁴⁸

Assumptions, approach and method

Assumptions

Certain basic assumptions underlie this study:

- a. Analysis of the 1983 to 1988 higher education reform movement has suffered from "it is a repetitive pest" belief. Shaking this belief and providing critical analysis of the movement will contribute to the higher education knowledge base.
- b. The eight documents selected for the study are representative of the reform movement.
- c. The sociology of knowledge method with its traditional process of decoding language is an appropriate approach for this study.
- d. The decoding of language is best done by traditional literary analysis using critical inquiry rather than quantitative methods such as content analysis by word count.
- e. Economic reductionism is a belief system existing to perpetuate the self-interests of the panels which produced these eight documents.

Approach

The sociology of knowledge approach with its traditional process of decoding language for its social and political interests was taken. Sociology of Knowledge looks to language to delineate thinking and ideas from their varying levels of

48. Ibid, 110-11.

abstraction.⁴⁹ By analyzing the language of the reform documents, a general belief system of the participants can be constructed.

The sociology of knowledge is an established discipline that has been previously used in the analysis of education as a social institution.⁵⁰ That economic reductionism is a belief system existing to perpetuate the self-interests of the panels is assumed. At a cursory level, the self interest of the panels being served are twofold. One, there is a belief that the American standard of living will decrease if immediate action is not taken. Economic competition becomes a key factor for higher education reform in this belief. Two, a perception of a dwindling white middle class necessitates the inclusion and full participation of racial minorities in American middle class life. This belief is founded on that America can no longer afford to exclude racial minorities from education. If the white middle class standard of living is to be protected, then minorities must be included to protect and perpetuate the structure of existing services, national prosperity and national security needs. In the interest of presenting a contained piece of research, deep, sustained exploration of this self-interest is a topic best left for further study. Economic reductionism may be harmonious with the interests of the individuals

49. Keith Dixon, *The Sociology of Belief: Fallacy and Foundation* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980).

50. Suzanne Hildenbrand, "Democracy's Aristocrat: The Gifted Child in America, 1910-1969" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1978) vii. Studies the argument that the future leaders must be identified early and prepared for leadership roles.

who were members of the higher education reform blue ribbon commissions, but the exploration and interpretation of those interests is beyond the scope of this study. This study proposes to analyze the language of the documents in order to define the expressed although unnamed philosophy represented by the reform movement.

Method

To identify documents for analysis, a method of document identification was developed. This search for education reform documents to analyze began with ERIC (Educational Resources Information Center). This information network disseminates as close to a comprehensive body of documentary literature in English about education as information technology and financing presently allow. Over 350 documents were identified using *Resources in Education* (RIE/ERIC), Institution Index, covering the years 1982 through June 1989. All of these reports were examined. Reports were screened and rejected for final analysis by the following criteria: 1) it was a preliminary report of an expected final report, 2) it was concerned with vocational post secondary education, 3) it was concerned with elementary and secondary education, or 4) it was concerned with provision of basic skill education on the work site.

The criteria followed in identifying the documents were: 1) it was the final, signed report of a commission, either public or private, established to study issues in higher education; 2) it had been made available to educators by being featured, reviewed, or discussed in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, *Change*, *Phi Delta Kappan* or other education publications of wide circulation; and 3) it had reached the public by being featured, reviewed, or discussed in the *New York Review of Books*, *New York Times Book Review*, *Los Angeles Times Book Review*, United Press Syndicate or Associated Press Syndicated articles. An example of a report that was the final, signed document of a commission established to study issues in higher education, but not included for analysis was *To Reclaim a Legacy*.⁵¹ The decision to include or exclude was difficult and finally came down on the side of exclusion. *To Reclaim a Legacy* looks at a specific curricular issue in higher education and does not address higher education broadly; for this reason of curricular specificity, *To Reclaim a Legacy* and documents similar to its concern are not analyzed as part of the higher education reform movement of 1983 to 1988.⁵²

51. William J. Bennett *To Reclaim a Legacy: A Report on the Humanities in Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: National Endowment for the Humanities, 1984). "In March 1984 I invited thirty-one prominent teachers, scholars, administrators, and authorities on higher education to join a Study Group on the State of Learning in the Humanities in Higher Education." i.

52. Identification of education reform reports has been attempted by others. Carol M. Boyer *Five Reports: Summary of the Recommendations of Recent Commission Reports on Improving Undergraduate Education* (Alexandria, Va.: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 305 851, 1985). A. Al-Rubaiy *American Education Under Fire: An Exploration of Selected Major or Contemporary Reports* (Alexandria, Va.: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 332 280, 1990).

Description of the sources

The reform reports tend to be short papers ranging from 30-90 pages. They often lack references and are written in an urgent tone. The language is accessible to the layperson and the issues addressed are broad and complex. Documents selected for analysis address a need for change in higher education, including teacher education reform, general curricular reform, and policy reforms regarding access to education and statements on national expectations of education.

Documents selected as appropriate for study are identified by the wording in the title, and are identifiable by the title using language which evokes an emotional response. Key words looked for in the title included: change, decline, future, improve, risk, etc. A report beginning with a quote from the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution or other founding documents of the United States in its title also indicated that the report should be selected for analysis. Room for flexibility and serendipity remained even though criteria for choosing documents had been set.

In an effort to present a work that is as thorough and sound as the available data permitted, foundation reports, sponsored studies, association papers, and congressional hearings are examples of the documents identified, retrieved, read, and analyzed to lay the foundation for final analysis of the eight documents. The

sample of foundations and associations from which to gather their reports has been selected to represent the spectrum of education and political philosophies.

The purpose of the study is to present an analysis of the 1983 to 1988 higher education reform movement by examining what is occurring and recommended as reported in the identified higher education reform documents. An evaluation of the assumptions, reasoning, philosophy and conclusions was performed by using the taxonomy outlined in Appendix A. The characteristics outlined there are compatible with the ideas and observations expressed by writers on educational history and philosophy.⁵³ Some of the documents were conservative, others liberal, and still others a mixture of both. The taxonomy outlines the divisions of these philosophies as expressed in the reform documents under study.

Description of Issuing Agencies

Foundations

Philanthropic foundations have played an influential role in American social policy and social engineering.⁵⁴ For this reason foundation reports were identified and read. In the final selection, reports from the Carnegie Corporation were included for study. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Carnegie

53. *The Encyclopedia of Educational Research* 5th ed., s.v. "History and Philosophy of Higher Education," Wingo, 1974.

54. James A. Smith, *The Idea Brokers* (New York: Free Press, 1991).

Corporation, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and its other commissions, forums, and committees, has had a well documented and influential role in American education. The Carnegie Corporation is representative of American philanthropic foundations. It is not extremist and does not represent any one educational philosophy or political philosophy.

Reports of the Ford, Heritage, Kellogg, Mott, People for the America Way, Rockefeller or other foundations were identified and included for scrutiny but have not been subjected to close, rigorous analysis because these reports did not meet the selected criteria for analysis.

Brookings, Rand, Conference Board of New York and other think-tank reports have not been ignored in this investigation but neither have they been studied in depth. Foundations and their reports were chosen to represent the broad philosophical spectrum. Again, by the criteria set by the author, reports by the bodies listed above did not make the final screening for analysis.

Associations

An association is an organization of persons having a common interest. *The Encyclopedia of Associations* identifies 1216 associations dedicated to the interest of education. Not all education associations and their reports have been studied. Inclusion for study was based upon the association's perception as an organization

in harmony with the prevalent attitudes and values of the society as well as the education professional. Associations specifically devoted to accreditation, vocations, community colleges, administration, adult education, Bible colleges, home study/alternative education, disciplines other than education, and international interests were not included in this study. Some associations not specifically devoted to higher education were selected for their interest in educational philosophy or other disciplinary approaches to education. Rationale for inclusion was that they looked at the broad issues of education.

Sponsored Studies

This body of literature includes the blue ribbon commissions and other bodies charged to investigate a particular problem in education. Only studies of a national scope were analyzed. Individual state sponsored studies were excluded from consideration. The blue ribbon commission report is produced by a committee of eminent officials, and is characterized by its having a specific charge to address, has a staff and funds to help in fulfilling the charge, and has a set time frame to complete its charge.⁵⁵

55. Janet R. Johnson and Laurence R. Marcus, *Blue Ribbon Commissions and Higher Education: Changing Academe from the Outside*. ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report No. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Association for the Study of Higher Education, 1986): 2.

Federal Documents

Reports issued from the Department of Education as well as congressional hearings on higher education were reviewed as background literature for this study. This included cursory attention to hearings on financial aid to students but were not subjected to analysis.

Influential Individuals

Monographs on education, higher education and education reform reaching best seller lists have been selected as examples of works by influential individuals. Two of these types of works by Bloom and Hirsch are addressed in this study but are not analyzed.

Limitations

The study is limited to the reform of post-secondary education leading to the baccalaureate degree. The period under analysis is 1983-1988.

Definition of Terms

The terms listed below are defined to clarify the meaning and to enhance the understanding of words and expressions this study frequently uses:

Conservativism - In the political sense, a maintenance of the status quo, regardless of what it is. In the philosophical sense, a love of authority and tradition. There is a tendency towards elitism. The identifier is resistance to change, thus "the Bolsheviks of

today are as conservative as the czarists of yesterday, the Fascists in Italy as the liberals of 1921, all being (or having been) equally disposed to conserve things as they are at the moment."⁵⁶

In the educational sense, a transmitting and preserving of certain facts of cultural heritage. Essentialism. Aim of education is intellectual training through the rigorous study of historic subject matters.⁵⁷

Economic reductionism - To view only the economic value as significant at the exclusion of other values or as superior to other values.⁵⁸

Essentialism - Belief that there is a common core of knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, etc. that can be identified, that preserves the culture and should be taught to all.⁵⁹

Higher Education - Formal education beyond high school and leading at least to the baccalaureate degree.

Instrumental - Using as a tool; the manipulation of a passive object for the manipulator's gain.

Liberalism - In the philosophical sense, the idea of the individual as free, repudiating naturalistic or deterministic interpretation of human action. In the political sense, a system of checks and balances, written constitutions, public laws. Liberals can be conservative when it comes time to protect and conserve liberties.⁶⁰

56. *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, s.v. "conservatism."

57. Carter V. Good, ed. *Dictionary of Education*, 3rd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), 219.

58. Tinker, 61-62. Hunt and Schwartz, 12-15. *Dictionary of Sociology*, Henry Pratt Fairchild, ed. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970) s.v. "Economic Determinism."

59. Wingo, p. 53.

60. *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, s.v. "liberalism."

In the educational sense, focus is on the individual. Education is necessary for a democracy and the school can be at the forefront of social progress. The idea of popular enlightenment. Progressivism.⁶¹

Reductionist/ism - The tendency to reduce the complex to the simple; oversimplification.⁶²

"... the reductionist does not ... re-examine his original assumptions. Instead, he redefines the terms used to describe the facts about the world in such a way that the contradictions between these descriptions of facts and the implications of the original assumption disappear."⁶³

Reductionist hierarchy diminishes the importance of one for the perceived superiority of another.

Reform - "To amend or improve by change of form or by removal of faults or abuses."⁶⁴

Significance

A dialogue is occurring among scholars over whether Americans are becoming increasingly isolated, alienated, and reductionist in thought and behavior.⁶⁵ Both sides of the political spectrum participate in this dialogue and view this alienation as a danger to democracy and freedom. Unsurprisingly, both groups look to

61. Wingo, pp. 138-154.

62. Webster's, s.v. "reductionist."

63. *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, s.v. "Phenomenonology" 138.

64. Webster's s.v. "reform."

65. Robert N. Bellah and others, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

education as cause and cure of the illness. The proposed study will add to the dialogue on education in a free society. Analysis of the literature of the current reform movement provides organized documentation of the arguments, solutions, and philosophies occurring in the debate. There is a paucity of critical writing on the current higher education reform literature and it is hoped this study will fill that void. The research goes beyond a mere bibliographic survey. It is an analysis and synthesis of education reform literature which compares and contrasts previous education reform movements in order to provide philosophical, political and historical perspectives on the 1980s higher education reform movement.

Studies by government agencies and specially appointed commissions are popularly dismissed as insignificant and having no bearing on the daily operations of the institution or issue under consideration. The reality is that policy often becomes implemented and does make an impact on institutions. Three examples in education are a 1980s National Science Foundation claim to a shortage of scientists and engineers, the 1970s emphasis on career education and the 1950s reform to promote critical thinking.

Recently the National Science Foundation has been criticized for presenting flawed data based upon questionable scientific methods that the United States will suffer from a serious shortage of scientific and technical personnel. These NSF data

were widely cited and became the evidence used to increase and improve science education.⁶⁶

In the 1970s example, career education was added and emphasized in the elementary and secondary school curriculum.⁶⁷ By the 1980s, both parents and educators became concerned with the number of teenagers taking on part-time jobs. In many of the instances, teenagers were working not out of necessity or for long term goals such as a college education but, rather, to have spending money.⁶⁸ Did the emphasis on work in the schools influence students to assume part-time jobs? Certainly career education is not the direct cause of increased teenage employment but career education as a possible influence cannot be ignored.

In the late 1950s, the post-Sputnik reform movement desired to encourage creativity, individuality and the questioning of assumptions.⁶⁹ As college students in the mid and late 1960s protested against the establishment, it seemed as if the

66. Boyce Rensberger, "Science Foundation's Study on Shortages Proved Very Unscientific," *Buffalo News* 9 April 1992, A3.

67. Ira Shor, *Culture Wars*, 30-58.

68. "Kids and jobs: good or bad?" *Newsweek*, 9 June 1986, 54. "Youth employment: curse or blessing?" *Children Today* 13 (January/February 1984): 6-8. "The Youngest Workers" *Education Digest* 51 (October 1985): 53-55. For a discussion of working college students see Anne-Marie McCartan, "Students Who Work" *Change* 20 (September/October 1988): 10-13, 15-20.

69. Rockefeller Brothers Fund, *The Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958).

educational mission of the late 1950s had been fulfilled although it was not applauded for this particular success.

Although it cannot flatly be stated that one policy caused a particular reaction, the relationship among policy directive, curriculum change and implementation, and behavior by students should not be dismissed as coincidental. It is not the purpose of this study to state "cause and effect" generalizations but, rather, to interpret observations and offer as evidence the influence policy may have on activity.

What is the potential aftermath of reducing education solely to an economic function? Other values of education may become lost and no longer exist as part of the belief system. The reductionist hierarchy diminishes the importance of one concept or institution for the perceived superiority of another. Laurence H. Tribe convincingly presents the argument against reductionism in the case of using plastic trees to decorate Los Angeles highways.⁷⁰ The cost effectiveness and easy care of plastic trees plus the acceptability by most of artificial environments may seem logical, efficient and hence, desirable. But his analysis ends with the haunting questions

What mind can resist despair at such a prospect? Who
can fail to admit that the homocentric logic of

70. Laurence H. Tribe, "Ways Not to Think about Plastic Trees: New Foundations for Environmental Law" *Yale Law Journal* 83 (June 1974): 1315-1348.

self-interest leads finally not to human satisfaction but to the loss of humanity?⁷¹

The same argument may be applied to the case of education. By centering on the citizen as worker and education as an economic input, education becomes bereft of humanity. An impatience with the complex and humanistic and a captivation with economic benefits is worthy of study in order to observe what we can potentially lose.

Overview and organization of the study

This study views 1983 with the publication of *A Nation at Risk* as the beginning of the higher education reform movement and 1988 as the end of the movement. Although *A Nation at Risk* addresses elementary and secondary education, its criticisms struck a nerve which elicited a response from all levels of educational institutions. The issuing of reports and the formation of study groups was strongest in the five year period 1983-1988. A "cooling-off" period is noticeable after 1987 but the year 1988 is chosen as the end of the reform movement to include those reports written in 1987 and to take into consideration national attention directed to a presidential election. Failure of the 1988 publication *American*

71. Ibid, 1348.

*Education: Making It Work*⁷² to make splashy headlines as did the earlier documents also indicates that by 1988 the reform movement had ended.

Chapter one provides a conceptual framework for studying education reform and traces the history, historiography and philosophy to provide the necessary background for understanding the 1983-1988 higher education reform movement in historical context. This chapter examines the broad spectrum of higher education reform.

Chapter two documents the evolution of higher education reform literature. This chapter serves as a review of the literature by presenting a thematic characterization of higher education literature.

The third chapter analyzes the language used in the documents written as part of the 1983-1988 education reform movement for their economic reductionism.

Chapter four takes the results of the previous chapter to draw conclusions on the philosophical nature of the reform, its components and its potential impact on higher education design, access, curriculum and mission.

72. Anne L. Lewis, "Son of Risk," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 69 June 1988, 708-711.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM

"O, reform it altogether."
Hamlet, iii, 2

Introduction

With the establishment of Harvard in 1636, higher education in the United States existed 140 years before the colonies declared themselves independent from England. Harvard and the other colonial colleges were modeled after what the colonists knew, the institutions of learning they left behind in Europe. The colonial colleges were also shaped by the unique conditions of the new world. Its expansive wilderness, heterogeneous population and poverty bred a predilection towards flexibility which resulted in modifications destined to strongly influence the developing system of American higher education.¹ Equally influential is the fact of the American Revolution and its philosophical base, political liberalism.

Because the nation was born from revolution, it should not be surprising that its higher education is a product of reform and experimentation. The revolution which severed the political ties of the colonies from England successfully embraced and implemented a new form of social control, that is, self-government.

1. John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition* 3rd ed. rev. (New York: Harper & Row, 1976): 3-9.

This concept is based in the idea of democracy, and the philosophical foundation of democracy, liberalism, was an intellectual revolution that broke with medievalism, providing a language for and actualizing modernity.² It is important to note this in order to illuminate the context in which higher education and its critics developed throughout the history of the United States. Education is an external social need and therefore is influenced by the upheaval, exploration and discovery of new ways to live. As new models replace old models, the mortar applied by the culture as it is building its new structure must be responsive and able to bind the building blocks. Education had a new role in the philosophy of liberalism and the operation of democracy. The radical shift in the perception of improving the quality of life for individual and community included an enormous role for education to play, particularly in the American experience.

The intellectual shift, liberalism, is a body of thought which developed in the seventeenth century. Liberalism values religious toleration, commerce, private property, scientific authority, the middle class and education.³ Liberalism is optimistic about human potential and the creative ability of all individuals, particularly as to how this creative ability and genius can be harnessed to improve

2. Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, c1945, 1972): 596-674.

3. Ibid, 596-597.

institutions.⁴ This philosophy eschews ecclesiastical authority, the aristocracy and monarchy. Liberalism is in direct contrast to medievalism and can be used as a benchmark to determine modernity.⁵

With the diminishing respect for aristocracy, that is, the idea of privilege based upon congenital characteristics, education became the means by which one prepared for position.⁶ In its infancy, the United States embraced this philosophy vehemently. It consciously sought to break with European traditions as the country established its national identity. Transforming education was viewed as essential so democracy could grow and prosper. The influence of liberalism on education in Europe was not as profound. As democratic governments replaced monarchies in Europe, the vestiges of the old order maintained their influence on the design and access of education. This is the greatest contrast between American and European systems of higher education, its access and design. The rub for American higher education is that no philosophy of education has ever been articulated and accepted as a national agenda. Hence, access to and design of education are forever left to clash with the prevailing economic and political problems of the United States.

4. Ibid, 597.

5. Ibid, 597-599.

6. Ibid, 597. Allen Oscar Hansen, *Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Macmillan, 1926): 256-263.

The fundamental principles of the American Revolution were change, freedom and growth. The revolution's foundation of political liberalism implied that the individual is capable of indefinite perfectibility, and that education is the path upon which to place the individual for this journey. Despite this belief and its importance as a foundation for the American value system, education is conspicuously absent from the Constitution of the United States.⁷ This does not imply that it was ignored in the establishment of our system of government. Education was thoroughly debated before, at, and after the Constitutional Convention. There were many declarations for the natural relationship between schooling and the preservation of freedom. These were

". . . the awakening of the American nation to the need of making permanent in the educational system a thorough mastery of the principles of democracy. If the power of public opinion were necessary to conduct an organized campaign against tyranny when oppression was evident on every hand, it would be far more necessary for the maintenance of democracy after that crisis was passed."⁸

Debate on the design and access of education in the United States is historically traceable to the nation's infancy. An analysis of the classic education reform documents reveals a remarkable resemblance to the reports of 1983-88 in the

7. Hansen, 8-40, 256.

8. Ibid, 41.

emotionalism of the criticism, but stand out for their emphasis on the development of the individual. To place education reform in historical context, three reports have been selected for analysis. The three reports are the Yale Report of 1828, *Universities: American, English, German* (1930) by Abraham Flexner and *The Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America* (1958) by The Rockefeller Brothers Fund. These documents are often cited in education history as representative of their times. Generated by these reports were writings that supported or refuted the observations stated in the documents for this study's selected analysis.

Also significant to the understanding of education reform is the influence of legislation. Two legislative acts, the Morrill Act (1862), and the GI Bill (1944) will be discussed briefly responding how social legislation affected education.

Judicial decisions, although powerful in their influence on change in education, will not be included in this analysis. Judicial decisions are directives given in the name of justice, a much stronger force than the sentiment of reform.

Yale Report of 1828

Introduction

"I do not believe that there is a country in the world where, in proportion to the population, there are so few ignorant and at the same time so few learned individuals. Primary instruction is within the reach of

everybody; superior instruction is scarcely to be obtained by any . . . In America there are but few wealthy persons; nearly all Americans have to take a profession. Now, every profession requires an apprenticeship. The Americans can devote to general education only the early years of life. At fifteen they enter up in their calling, and thus their education generally ends at the age when ours begins. If it is continued beyond that point, it aims only towards a particular specialized and profitable purpose; one studies science as one takes up a business; and one takes up only those applications whose immediate practicality is recognized."

Alexis de Tocqueville,
Democracy in America,
1840

Early nineteenth century America was a period of social change and education reform. There were many protests on the inadequacy of the college system. The criticisms were directed at the prescribed classical curriculum and its impracticality.⁹ Although the above observation by Tocqueville may be criticized as simplistic,¹⁰ he captured the spirit of the American debate regarding technical

9. "Classical Learning" *North American Review* 23 (July 1826): 142-150. "Universities" *North American Review* 27 (July 1828): 71. John Stuart Blackie "On a Radical Reform in the Method of Teaching the Classical Languages" *Contemporary Review* 34 (March 1879): 795-802.

10. "This paragraph does not fairly render the meaning of the author. The original French is as follows: 'En Amerique il y a peu de riches; presque tous les Americains ont donc besoin d'exercer une profession. Or, toute profession exige un apprentissage. Les Americains ne peuvent donc donner a la culture generale de l'intelligence que les premieres annees de la vie: a quinze ans, ils entrent dans une carriere: ainsi leur education finit le plus souvent a l'epoque au la notre commence.' What is meant by the remark, that 'at fifteen they enter upon a career, and thus their education is very often finished at the epoch when ours commences,' is not clearly perceived. Our professional men enter upon their course of preparation for their respective professions, wholly between eighteen and twenty-one years of age. Apprentices to trades are bound out ordinarily, at fourteen, but what general education they receive is after that period. Previously, they have acquired the mere elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

versus liberal education. The American faith in technological progress and the rush to obtain it often fuels the American curriculum. But sometimes the rush is too great and attempted reforms are cooled by a conservative response. This is the case with the Yale Report of 1828.

On September 11, 1827, at a meeting of the president and fellows of Yale College, it was resolved that a committee be established to study the college curriculum and its possibility for alteration.¹¹ Pressure was being exerted on American colleges to abandon the prescribed classical curriculum for a modern curriculum of student selected courses in the sciences and modern languages. Technical and vocational subject matter was of keen interest to the growing middle class and demands for engineering, agriculture and mercantile curricula were loud and frequent. Some institutions of higher learning were already in place which were responsive to the nation's rapid technological advance. For example, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute was founded in 1824 specifically to educate engineers and farmers. The United States Military Academy (1802) and Thomas Jefferson's

But it is supposed there is nothing peculiar to America, in the age at which apprenticeship commences. In England, they commence at the same age, and it is believed that the same thing occurs throughout Europe. It is feared that the author has not here expressed himself with his usual clearness and precision.--American Editor." Henry Reeves, Translation. Alexis de Tocqueville. *The Republic of the United States of America, and its Political Institutions, Reviewed and Examined* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 189-?): 53-54.

11. Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith eds. *American Higher Education: A Documentary History* vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961): 276.

University of Virginia (1819) also provided modern and technical courses for study.¹² But the liberal arts college was the reigning higher education institution in early nineteenth century America and what it stood for clashed with the Industrial Revolution taking place.¹³ Yale College responded by writing and distributing a report on the meaning of a liberal education. It has come to be known as the Yale Report of 1828.

Analysis

Yale College president Jeremiah Day agreed that the college curriculum needed improvement and stated, "We believe that changes may from time to time be made with advantage, to meet the varying demands of the community, to accommodate the course of instruction to the rapid advance of the country in population, refinement, and opulence."¹⁴ The Yale Report concedes that the curriculum had changed and improved since the beginning of the century and that the college moved with the times. The new sciences--geology, chemistry, and political economy had been introduced to the curriculum as well as innovative instruction introduced to the classroom. Resistance arose not to changing the

12. Brubacher and Rudy, 61-62, 147-153.

13. Ibid, 116-119.

14. Hofstadter and Smith, 277.

college's curriculum but to changing its educational purpose.¹⁵ The Yale Report was written to reiterate the purpose of a liberal education and who should oversee its administration. Jeremiah Day and his committee reminded critics that the college knows best and, therefore, will not be swayed by external forces and popular opinion. In evidence of changes wrought by the college, the committee wrote that "Alterations so extensive and frequent, satisfactorily prove, that if those who are entrusted [sic] with the superintendence of the institution, still firmly adhere to some of its original features, it is from a higher principle, than a blind opposition to salutary reform."¹⁶

Changes brought by Day's leadership were professorships in agricultural chemistry, applied chemistry, the establishment of the Medical Institution (1813), the Divinity School in 1822 and the Law School (1843).¹⁷ Graduate instruction and stricter admission requirements were other changes put in place during Jeremiah Day's administration, an administration described as "sound and healthy, . . . generally a conservative and unpretentious regime."¹⁸ There was no rejection of advanced or specialized study after the undergraduate degree had been earned.

15. Ibid, 277.

16. Ibid, 277.

17. Reuben A. Holden, *Profiles and Portraits of Yale University Presidents* (Freeport, Maine: Bond Wheelwright Co., 1968): 65.

18. Ibid, 68.

Specialized and professional education was not to be part of the undergraduate curriculum, for the college is to "Lay the foundation of a superior education . . . The ground work [sic] of a thorough education, must be broad, and deep, and solid."¹⁹ The college's purpose is to provide a general foundation which can be used throughout life for purposes other than work.

Central to the conflict of vocational and technical education versus liberal education is the issue of time. In the nineteenth century, critics of liberal education took the position that liberal education is wasteful and impractical because it delays professional education.²⁰ Also, liberal education's usefulness is not immediately apparent. These arguments remain popular and strong in contemporary clashes over the curriculum. In the early nineteenth century, the idea of time as a commodity and the need to rush to an end was novel.²¹ The Industrial Revolution was accelerating and westward expansion was facilitated by the building of canals and improvements in steamboat and railroad transportation. It was a period of great optimism and faith in technological progress, as illustrated by the following statement:

19. Hofstadter and Smith, 278.

20. "Universities" *North American Review* 27 (July 1828): 71-72. Brubacher and Rudy, 290. Hofstadter and Smith, vol. 1, 251-254, 282.

21. Jeremy Rifkin, *Time Wars* (New York: Holt, 1987): 4, 60, 134-147.

Perhaps there has been no age, since the world was established as the abode of man, so generally confident of progress, and so full of anticipations of further advancement, as our own. It looks forward on the ages to come, and acknowledges that they will far surpass it. Though proud of its superiority, it is generous and impartial in its pride, for it is prepared and willing to be excelled. It is conscious of its abundant acquisitions, but it has been taught by many of these, that there is more to be acquired; and it calls, with a voice of disinterested hopefulness, on the still nobler and more successful exertions of future time.²²

This attitude reflects an educational philosophy that education is to prepare one for work and that the students' efforts should be concentrated into their chosen professions. The Yale Report replies:

But if the student's thoughts never range on other subjects, if he never looks abroad on the ample domains of literature and science, there will be a narrowness in habits of thinking, a peculiarity of character, which will be sure to mark him as a man of limited views and attainments. Should he be distinguished in his profession, his ignorance on other subjects, and the defects of his education will be the more exposed to public observation. On the other hand, he who is not only eminent in professional life, but has also a mind richly stored with general knowledge, has an elevation and dignity of character, which gives him a commanding influence in society, and a widely extended sphere of usefulness.²³

22. Sampson Reed, "Observations on 'The Growth of the Mind.'" *North American Review* 24 (January 1827): 56.

23. Hofstadter and Smith, 282.

Jeremiah Day and his colleagues did not view the student as an economic automaton made to guarantee national prosperity nor look to education to serve an economically reductionist end. Rather, they argued that there are pursuits in living other than work which bring broad and complex responsibilities, especially the private sphere of love, marriage and family, and the public sphere of civic duties.²⁴

On the practical side, the Yale Report stated that the details of the professions cannot be learned in college and are best left to the profession itself.²⁵ The committee made clear that its professional courses of study for medicine, law and theology were not intended to complete an education, and therefore, the college should not be expected to complete an education for the fields of business, agriculture or engineering.

Attempts to broaden a curriculum frequently set off a reaction to protect the standards the old curriculum is thought to represent. In the 1980s, an excellent example is Stanford University and the addition of minority and female authors to its freshman course.²⁶ This reform sparked a conservative debate over whether standards were being lowered and the great canon contaminated by the inclusion of

24. "His situation enables him to diffuse the light of science among all classes of the community. Is a man to have no other object, than to obtain a living by professional pursuits? Has he not duties to perform to his family, to his fellow citizens, to his country...?" Ibid, 282.

25. Ibid, 282.

26. Dinesh D'Sonza, "Illiberal Education" *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1991, 51-8, "Stanford freshmen to study works by women, blacks; no reading list set." *Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 13, 1988, A19.

less traditional authors on the freshman reading list.²⁷ In the 1820s, tinkering with the curriculum was associated with lowering standards. The practical education which the middle class desired was believed antithetical to the college purpose, and the college purpose to liberate the mind was not to be lowered for economically expedient ends. Yale and similar institutions felt no competition with those institutions providing technical and vocational education and, therefore, saw no advantage in abandoning liberal education. The Yale Report stated that:

The public are undoubtedly right, in demanding that there should be appropriate courses of education, accessible to all classes of youth. And we rejoice at the prospect of ample provision for this purpose, in the improvement of our academies, and the establishment of commercial high schools, gymnasia, lycea, agriculture seminaries, etc. Why should we interfere with these valuable institutions? Why wish to take their business out of their hands? The college has its appropriate object, and they have theirs. What advantage would be gained by attempting to blend them all in one? When in almost all our schools, and academies, and professional seminaries, the standard of education has been enlarged and elevated is this a time for the college to lower its standard? Shall we fall back, and abandon the ground which, for thirty years past, we have been striving so hard to gain? Are those who are seeking only a partial education to be admitted into the college, merely for the purpose of associating its name with theirs? of carrying

27. "Conservative Scholars Call for a Movement to 'Reclaim' Academy" *Chronicle of Higher Education*, November 23, 1988, A 1. "The Ivory Battleground" *Wilson Quarterly* 15 (Winter 1991): 120-1. John R. Searle, "The Storm over the University: A Further Exchange" *New York Review of Books*, May 16, 1991, 62-3.

away with them a collegiate diploma without incurring the fearful hazard of being over-educated?"²⁸

This prescient passage acknowledges the reality of greater material wealth and the continued expansion of the national boundaries. The fact of abundance and progress made the need for reason and intelligence ever more essential, not less so. Narrow training was dangerous for farmers and manufacturers because they can run for office and lead. "Our republican form of government renders it highly important, that great numbers should enjoy the advantage of a thorough education . . . A thorough education ought therefore to be extended to all . . . classes."²⁹

Conclusion

The Yale Report of 1828 attacked the idea of education for solely economic reasons. In spirit it is a report that values education for the individual to make wise choices in political, personal, and economic spheres. Work and contributions to national prosperity are viewed as one aspect of life, not the main aspect of life. The document expresses well the liberal ideal of education.

28. Hofstadter and Smith, 285-6.

29. Ibid, 287.

Abraham Flexner, *Universities: American, English, German* (1930)

Introduction

In 1927, when Abraham Flexner was 61 years old with a distinguished background in education reform, education experimentation and experience with the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, he decided to retire from his position with the General Education Board. He was invited to Oxford to give the Rhodes Trust Memorial Lectures and these lectures formed the basis of the reform document under consideration in this study.³⁰ His report, *Universities: American, English, German* was published by the Oxford University Press in 1930. Of this work Flexner stated, "It made a great stir among academic folk and in the newspapers, for once more I had told the truth. Giving full credit for all that was good, I riddled with facts, sarcasm, and documents the outright and shameless humbuggery that was proving profitable at teachers' colleges, in homestudy courses at Columbia, Chicago, and even my own beloved Johns Hopkins; in correspondence courses competing with work on the campus; and in the absurd topics for which the Ph.D. degree was given."³¹

30. Abraham Flexner, *Universities: American, English, German* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930): vii.

31. Abraham Flexner, *I Remember* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940): 355.

How did Flexner come to take the path of admitted vituperative criticism of American higher education? He was a graduate of the Johns Hopkins University and a former high school teacher of Latin and Greek in his hometown of Louisville, Kentucky. In 1890 he founded a school for boys.³² Charles Eliot, then president of Harvard University, wrote Flexner when he was a teacher to ask why his students entered Harvard at an earlier age and completed college in a shorter period than other students.³³ Flexner was encouraged to write of his educational methods and it appeared as "A Freshman at Nineteen" in the November 1899 *Educational Review*.³⁴ The foundation for Flexner's reputation as a no nonsense, practical educator who despised mollicoddling boys was laid. The next five years saw his school increase with students and teachers, its reputation strong but no innovation taking place. Flexner had conquered his challenge and settled into his task perfunctorily. He was stale and his wife, a successful playwright, noticed. Anne Crawford Flexner suggested they pool their earnings and travel in Europe for as long as their money lasted.³⁵

32. Ibid, 74.

33. Ibid, 82.

34. Abraham Flexner, "A Freshman at Nineteen," *Educational Review* 18 (November 1899): 353-362.

35. *I Remember*, 96-112.

In 1904 he had occasion to write to his wife, "I want to influence in some measure the life of my time in so far as that can be done through education."³⁶ At the time of this assertion he was 38 years old and had achieved success and notoriety with the high school he established.

With this plan the school was closed in 1905 and Abraham Flexner entered the Graduate School of Harvard before embarking on his travels.³⁷ He wrote,

"I was determined to make a career in education; and though my acquaintance with schools, school systems, and colleges was slight, and felt by me to be slight, I was fully though vaguely convinced that all were in need of thoroughgoing reform . . . I had come to see that America was still to be made; that that was a practical job; that others must supply the ideas and materials; that I must garner from the old world whatever was likely to be of use; and that having in my possession these ideas and materials as well as those furnished by our own history, I must grasp every circumstance that offered to make them effective. I was not original. Except to the extent of realizing and implementing the philosophy of the founders of the republic, we were as a nation too active practically to be very philosophical."³⁸

One result of his travels was *The American College*, a harsh critique of the elective system, teaching assistantships and the lecture as the predominant mode of

36. Ibid, 97.

37. Ibid, 97.

38. Ibid, 97-8.

teaching.³⁹ Also attacked was the pressure placed upon secondary schools for college preparation. His book did not escape notice. Most reviews were kind and ignored the volatile and opinionated tone of the work and recommended it for those genuinely interested in the strength of American higher education. Others criticized his work for insufficient data and faulty logic.⁴⁰ Flexner admitted that the work fell flat but fortune had placed this book in the hands of Henry S. Pritchett, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Through a letter of introduction and interview at the foundation, Flexner found himself asked to study the quality of medical education in the United States.⁴¹ His career in education reform was launched. An analysis of his last chief work in education reform, *Universities: American, English, German*, follows.

Analysis

Universities was written from the idea that institutions are parts of the fiber woven as the cloth representing society of a given age.⁴² Recognizing that institutions are fluid and that education as an institution needs to be elastic, Flexner

39. Abraham Flexner, *The American College* (New York: Century Co., 1908).

40. Harry Thurston Peck, "Eleven Books of the Month" *The Bookman* 28 (February 1909): 592. "Reviews" *Educational Review* 36 (December 1908): 513.

41. Flexner, *I Remember*, 110.

42. Flexner, *Universities*, 3.

warned against the extreme situation when the American university acted as a barometer of popular whim.⁴³ The university should not try to attempt the impossible of pleasing all the people all the time. He declared that "Universities must at times give society, not what society wants, but what it needs."⁴⁴ The purpose of the university is to provide a haven for a scientist to search for the truth, to preserve knowledge, to impart knowledge and to interpret ideas for the students who will carry on the scholarly tradition.⁴⁵ The university is not for baby-sitting or mollicoddling students; rather, the professor has the objective responsibility for teaching and not a parentalistic responsibility for students.⁴⁶ Teaching, learning, creativity and scholarship are the business of the university.⁴⁷ The university should not confuse its place in the world by being frightened of it or feel responsible for the conduct of nations and citizens. When the purpose of the university is reduced to worldly, short-sighted ends it is exposed to harm or evil.⁴⁸ The university must be where theory and facts are confronted for there is no other

43. Ibid, 5-6, 128-132.

44. Ibid, 5.

45. Ibid, 10-11, 24.

46. Ibid, 8, 67-68, 217.

47. Ibid, 6-7, 24.

48. Ibid. 15.

institution structured that can handle the pursuit of truth.⁴⁹ It is always tempting to explore the practical problems and in the social sciences the practical problems to be solved may be the most urgent. But "the urgency of the need is not as I have said, without its dangers. The history of the more manageable sciences contains a warning which the social scientist will do well to heed. Chemistry made no progress as long as men were concerned immediately to convert base metal into gold, it advanced when, for the time being, it ignored use and practice."⁵⁰

Flexner was about as old as the modern university was at the time of writing *Universities*. The educational progress of the university in the period 1870-1930 was the result of the rise of professionalism and the development of science and technology. These changes and developments shattered nineteenth century concepts.⁵¹ The reshaping of society was fast and forever accelerating, not giving the emerging modern university time to develop and establish a foundation and a unifying philosophy.⁵² In this environment of scientific progress, specialization, and credentialing, there was a sense of confusion over educational purpose. Flexner

49. Ibid, 14.

50. Ibid, 14.

51. Brubacher and Rudy, 143-218.

52. Ibid, 143-173, 287.

did not want to turn back the clock, but rather asked how was American higher education to be reshaped and as what?

Flexner's arguments were not either-or, for or against a core curriculum, the great books, learning for earning or any of the other issues addressed in earlier American higher education reform debates. For Flexner, there was no Golden Age of Education (although expression of his fondness for his college days at The John Hopkins University come close to being a description of a Golden Age).⁵³

"Learning has never been free from pedantry or from superficiality."⁵⁴ What the modern university needed to do was "address itself wholeheartedly and unreservedly to the advancement of knowledge, the study of problems, from whatever source they come, and the training of men--all at the highest level of possible effort."⁵⁵

There is no conservative rigid, unyielding educational design to insure the advancement of knowledge.

Every age, every country, has its unique concrete needs and purposes. For that reason, there can be no uniform university type, persisting through the ages, transferable from one country to another. Every age does its own creating and reshaping; so does every country. But we are not therefore left to meaningless flux. There are intellectual standards by which quality may be judged.

53. Flexner, *Universities*, 42, 80, 86. *I Remember*, 44-65.

54. Flexner, *Universities*, 25.

55. *Ibid*, 24.

Subjects change, problems change, activities change.
But ideas and quality abide.⁵⁶

Education, especially higher education, is not for instrumental ends. Education should not be designed for national prosperity nor should the effects of education be expected to produce moral beings.

Education--college education, liberal education, call it what you will--should, one might suppose, concern itself primarily during adolescence and early manhood and womanhood with the liberation, organization, and direction of power and intelligence, with the development of taste, into culture--a perfectly good work that has unfortunately, become odious in the ears of the professional educator in America--on the assumption that a trained mind, stored with knowledge, will readily enough find itself even in our complex world

⁵⁷
...

The focus is on the individual for Flexner, not necessarily on self-fulfillment as in the liberal ideal of the perfectibility of human beings, but on the ability to reason, organize, evaluate and accept intellectual challenge. Higher education should not trivialize itself into specialized, narrow vocational courses of study. "Atomistic training--the provision of endless special courses, instead of a small number of opportunities that are at once broad and deep--is hostile to the development of intellectual grasp."⁵⁸ Flexner recognizes that a democracy requires

56. Ibid, 43.

57. Ibid, 53.

58. Ibid, 100.

access to education and therefore, cannot philosophically support an elite educational system. Unfortunately, greater access to education is too often used as a reason to trivialize the curriculum.⁵⁹ This contributes to the confusion of educational purpose. For Flexner, the kernel of his reform was not so much what education is and what it can do but rather the specific role of the university and not confusing its role with technical, vocational and popular education. The purpose of his reform was to apply the term university more stringently.⁶⁰ His was not a reform attempting to restore a mythical golden age. Optimism for the individual is not passionately expressed in his work, but neither is the individual reduced to an economic end. Flexner's reform is a contained plan with the specific purpose to separate the work of the university and the trade school. Similar to the Yale Report, Flexner saw no reason for combining the purposes of intellectual pursuits with vocational training. Flexner's reform report solidly expresses the idea of education for intellectual pursuit, not for national prosperity.

59. Ibid, 46-48, 64.

60. Ibid, 213-214.

**Rockefeller Brothers' Fund. *The Pursuit of
Excellence: Education and the Future of America* (1958)**

Introduction

The effects of World War II on higher education have been well documented.⁶¹ American colleges' and universities' contributions to the war effort have long been recognized as a significant and necessary ingredient for the Allies' victory. This fact increased interest in education reform. Also influencing post-World War II education reform was atomic energy. The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the atom bomb produced the recognition that the definition of the nation state was no longer the same. National boundaries are meaningless in the face of nuclear annihilation.⁶² The anxiety brought about by the reality of atomic force resulted in the idea of global interdependence. This reality of interdependence is a concept previously unknown in modern history, and the American response was to produce an education responsive to the complexities created by the possibility of nuclear destruction. Fear of communism and the Soviet Union also motivated education reform, and the debate on education in

61. Brubacher and Rudy, 231-237. Richard Hofstadter and C. DeWitt Hardy. *The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, for the Commission on Financing Higher Education, 1952). *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* s.v. "Federal Influence on Education." 674-675.

62. Robert M. Hutchins *The Conflict in Education* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University, Lectures Series, 1970). Sound cassette.

America was accelerated by the launching of Sputnik, the first Russian satellite into space, in 1957.

At the collegiate level, one notable reform of the college curriculum was done by Harvard.⁶³ The Harvard Committee, a committee mainly composed by members of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences issued its report in book form for increased availability. *General Education in a Free Society*⁶⁴ was offered not only to change and redefine Harvard's core curriculum but to contribute to the broader debate of education in America. Mainly a reaction to the seductiveness of specialization, the plan reaffirmed the value of breadth in a curriculum and the idea of education for a common citizenry.

From the national policy standpoint, in 1946, President Harry S. Truman established and charged a commission on higher education with the task of defining the responsibilities of colleges and universities in the foreign affairs of the nation and for the strength of American democracy. The result was the six volume work *Higher Education for American Democracy: A Report* recommending increased educational access and opportunity, preparation for world citizenship and the

63. Brubacher and Rudy, 275.

64. *General Education in a Free Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1945).

extension of general education.⁶⁵ The concerns expressed and language used set the tone for reform reports following in the 1950s.

Ten years after Truman's commission, President Eisenhower appointed a Committee on Education. Its report, *Education Beyond the High School*, was chaired by Devereaux C. Josephs, chair of the board of the New York Life Insurance Company.⁶⁶ This report briefly addressed changing demographics and global interdependence. It was written to stimulate informed public discussion that would lead to education reform. Devereaux C. Josephs also served on the Rockefeller Brothers' Fund special studies, which produced the reform document under consideration in this study. *The Pursuit of Excellence* is a balance between the lengthiness of *Higher Education for American Democracy* and the sketchiness of *Education Beyond the High School* and it serves as a representative document of post World War II/Cold War education reform concerns.

65. U.S. President's Commission, *Higher Education for American Democracy: A Report* (New York: Harper & Row, 1947-1948).

66. The President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School. *First Interim Report to the President* (Washington, D.C., 1965).

Analysis

The Rockefeller Brothers' Fund Inc., established a special studies project to assess the problems most likely to confront the United States between 1968-73.⁶⁷

Education was one of seven issues addressed by appointed panels.

Central to the meaning of *The Pursuit of Excellence* is the importance of the individual.⁶⁸ It was recognized that organization is important and that progress is achieved by group effort and organization of the group, but a fear of the loss of individuality was expressed. The individual must not be lost "behind a facade of huge and impersonal institutions. The risk is that we will glorify science and forget the scientists . . ."⁶⁹ The success of the nation would depend on the talents of the individual, for cultivation of human potential is the life blood of a free nation. So strong is the passion for the individual that the opening chapter is titled "The Dignity of the Individual." It must be noted that the passionate extolling of a free society is presented as a contrast to the totalitarianism of the Soviet Union. The fear of Soviet military threat was masked as competition with Soviet technological

67. Rockefeller Brothers' Fund. *The Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958): v.

68. Ibid, v, ix, 1-2.

69. Ibid, ix.

advances.⁷⁰ At the time of this document, there were true expressed fears of Soviet strength. To combat this threat, the strategy was to reform education to produce Americans with a feeling of self-worth developed through freedom and respect of the individual. The proposed reform was not to develop an education to outwit Russians, but rather to develop an education for understanding the individual and respecting humanity.

Curiously, the nation was seen as becoming homogeneous, thus making the need for an educational plan stressing individuality all the more urgent. Cited as contributing to this American homogeneity were the migration trends that decreased regional difference, the transformation of farming into a corporate operation and a decrease in immigration.⁷¹ With hindsight these observations appear naive and misguided. Periods of immigration have continued to infuse the United States with more ethnic and racial diversity. What the report was attempting to illustrate was the conformity and facelessness documented by sociologists in the 1950s.⁷² The depersonalization of bureaucracy brought about a rallying around the uniqueness of

70. "Another spur to systematic research is, of course, the imperative need to meet the Soviet military threat. For the first time in history our survival is imperiled by the threat of technological inferiority, and the danger is all the more unsettling because we had taken our supremacy in the scientific field for granted." Ibid, 9-10.

71. Ibid, 5.

72. David Riesman, Reuel Denney and Nathan Glazer, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950). William H. Whyte, *The Organization Man* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956).

the individual. Not only was uniqueness celebrated, but the talent inherent in all individuals was to be discovered and developed.

To develop talent, in the viewpoint of this particular blue ribbon commission, is a moral imperative, an economic imperative and a military imperative.⁷³ The individual must not be lost in the population, yet the population must be viewed as "a vast reservoir of human abilities and skills upon which our social and technical and economic institutions depend."⁷⁴ Technological change means that a higher degree of competence and skill is needed and educational institutions should be used to increase the skill needed by the labor force. Although the report recognizes the connection between national prosperity and an educated citizenry, there is an equally strong recognition that specialization, the fuel of technological, scientific and economic advancement, must not be bowed to in reverence and overtake the educational mission.

Specialization, for example, is a vitally important force in the modern world; but it is unfortunately true that for many individuals specialization is a dead end rather than an avenue to deeper and broader understanding. This need not be so and it is a challenge to our education to insure that it does not occur. The trend toward specialization has created among other things an extraordinary demand for gifted generalists . . . individuals will be drawn increasingly from the ranks of

73. *Pursuit of Excellence*, v, 1, 7, 9-10.

74. *Ibid*, 6.

those whose education and experience have included
both depth and breadth . . . ⁷⁵

What are the challenges to developing talent? The report found three. They were: "inertia produced by doing familiar tasks well . . . ceilings on performance that exist in a highly institutionalized society . . . [and] a deep philosophical rift within our own attitudes toward talent."⁷⁶ Blame is not placed on the individual for not achieving but, rather, on the institution for obstructing achievement. The questions for education reform becomes

"How may we best prepare our young people to keep their individuality, initiative, creativity in a highly organized, intricately meshed society? How may we rescue talented individuals from the lowered aspirations, the boredom, and the habits of mediocrity so often induced by life in a large and complex organization? How do we shatter the informal ceilings placed upon performance in an organizational setting in which order, harmony and predictability seem to be given more emphasis than individual achievement?"⁷⁷

The challenge for education was, first, to increase access because education is the means to realize "our ideal of equality of opportunity."⁷⁸ Next, the teaching profession was cited as needing improvement with increased salaries to attract the

75. Ibid, 11.

76. Ibid, 12.

77. Ibid, 14-15.

78. Ibid, 19.

best.⁷⁹ Also recommended were the reduction of clerical tasks for the teacher and the use of teachers aides.⁸⁰ Finally, there was the need to address the curriculum, especially for mathematics and science. These two subjects were selected because

First, the crisis in our science education is not an invention of the newspapers, or scientists, or the Pentagon. It is a real crisis. Second, the U.S.S.R. is not the 'cause' of the crisis. The cause of the crisis is our breathtaking movement into a new technological era. The U.S.S.R. has served as a rude stimulus to awaken us to that reality.⁸¹

The Pursuit of Excellence begins by stressing the importance of the individual. Its concluding chapters do the same. Discrimination and poverty are taken to task as serious threats to the ideal of personal development. Four broad categories are outlined to illustrate wasted talent. The commission listed disadvantaged minorities, women, the aged, and the economically depressed as the reservoir of wasted talent.⁸² It described the disadvantaged minority as a problem "which must lie heaviest on our conscience."⁸³ Desegregation and social legislation are praised and noted as only first, hard steps. But

79. "And since the financial rewards of nonacademic work are generally much higher, it is hard to attract the ablest people into academic life." Ibid, 23. See also 24, 26.

80. Ibid, 25.

81. Ibid, 27-28.

82. Ibid, 39-42.

83. Ibid, 39.

until the Negro has been offered equal opportunity with the non-Negro to develop and use his individual talents to the utmost, and until he can be encouraged to make the most of his opportunity, we shall have failed to achieve our moral goal.⁸⁴

The poor educational facilities, limited career paths and constant rebuff suffered by the black American is held up as a source of American shame. *The Pursuit of Excellence* addresses the minority problem, particularly that of the black American, in serious moral terms. It is not enough to increase access to education and wealth so that the nation may be economically sound, but rather because it is right. "Occasionally one hears it said that 'the talented Negro will always make out all right.' This misses the point. The smothering of talent under such circumstances is not an explicit, direct, observable act; it is a cumulative process."⁸⁵ Full emphasis is given to the development and self-fulfillment of the individual.

Development of the individual also requires development of values. Contemporary American values were criticized as "security, conformity, and comfort are idols of the day; . . . [there is a] fear that our young people have lost youth's immemorial fondness for adventure, far horizons, and the challenge of the unpredictable."⁸⁶ To develop talent and develop values, the educational system

84. Ibid, 40.

85. Ibid, 39.

86. Ibid, 45.

must be shaped by the "deepest values of our society."⁸⁷ To this end, the educational system must embrace, defend, and teach the commitment to self-government and the idea of equal opportunity, it must be an education of the dignity of the individual.⁸⁸

The Pursuit of Excellence is a passionate report written from a moral perspective. The irony is that when the children under consideration in this report grew up as individuals and protested against the establishment, it was not applauded as an education reform success. Nevertheless, *The Pursuit of Excellence* serves well as a representative reform document of the 1950s stressing individuality, illustrating fear of the Soviet Union, and recognizing the limitations imposed on special groups in the United States. The report is written in the spirit of liberalism and is not economically reductionist in thought.

Legislation and higher education reform

Changes in the design and access of higher education have been more directly influenced by legislative acts than by the reform reports issued from blue ribbon commissions or higher education institutions. But the legislation enacted probably would not have been passed if public debate did not occur in the form of

87. Ibid, [49].

88. Ibid, [49].

blue ribbon commissions, works by influential individuals or reform efforts by higher education institutions. In order to serve its constituency, a legislature needs to listen to concerns and needs and act upon those concerns. For example, the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890 and the Servicemen's Readjustment Act (G.I. Bill) are often cited as positive examples of federal legislative influence on curricular change and increasing opportunities for social mobility.⁸⁹ The Morrill Act and its Land Grant colleges legislated the curricular reform middle class constituents had long demanded since the early part of the 19th century. Their vocal demands for more technical and agricultural curricula in higher education culminated in negative responses from institutions such as Yale but by 1862 found an outlet for action through federal legislation.⁹⁰ The Morrill Act legislated a special curriculum and provided the land to build the schools. In stating the significance of the Morrill Act for further federal involvement in higher education, Lauriston R. King writes

Passage of the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 and subsequent legislation into the early 1900's firmly established the place of the national government in higher education. Two significant precedents emerged from the Morrill Act . . . First, the rationale for the act was based ostensibly on national needs for trained manpower in two specified fields of study--agriculture and mechanics. Second, the authorizing legislation did

89. Harold M. Hyman, *American Singularity: The 1787 Northwest Ordinance, the 1862 Homestead and Morrill Acts, and the 1944 G.I. Bill* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1986). David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986).

90. Brubacher and Rudy, 59-69.

not require that the beneficiary institutions, or the institutions created as a result of the legislation, be public in support or control. Thus, it served as a forerunner for all subsequent legislation in that it included both private and public institutions.⁹¹

The G.I. Bill altered access to education by increasing the number of older than traditional age college students and by providing an opportunity for those who may never have considered attending college. The G.I. Bill has been described as-

a surprising success. Millions-eventually, eight million-of World War II (and Korean War) veterans undertook educational or training programs under it. Not all of these enrollees sought undergraduate degrees and, fewer still, graduate degrees. But the numbers that did become college graduates, M.A.'s, and Ph.D.'s, plus equivalents in the science and professional curricular revolutionized the American university structure and professoriat.⁹²

Legislation is a political act. It is a political opinion pressuring the legislature. Legislation is a political act in that it depends upon the voluntary action of the legislature whose membership is often the result of election by voting, and voting is a political act.⁹³ A reform that is legislated is therefore a political act and must be analyzed as such.

91. Lauriston R. King, *The Washington Lobbyists for Higher Education* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1975): 1.

92. Hyman, 69.

93. *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, s.v. "legislation."

Federal involvement in education is justified by the power of Congress to collect and spend taxes, "that is, Congress's power under Article I, section 8, clause 1, to spend its funds for the 'general welfare of the United States.'"⁹⁴ By this use of power, "Federal funding of education has been justified on the basis of its instrumental value for the accomplishment of goals other than the advancement of the educational process."⁹⁵ Because legislation is a political act, the action must be answerable to a special interest group, voters or other members of the legislature. The reduction of education to an economic, political, or social end is unavoidable in this arena.

What is the scope of federal involvement in higher education? In the eighty-four year period of the 23rd to the 64th Congress (1833-1917) nineteen references on federal aid to higher education may be found by using the *CIS U.S. Congressional Committee Hearings Index*.⁹⁶ Most of the references are to hearings on the Morrill Act and the establishment of military academies. This contrasts significantly with later years, for example, the 83rd to 85th Congress (1953-1955)

94. William A. Kaplin, *The Law of Higher Education: Legal Implications of Administrative Decision Making* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1978): 388.

95. *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, s.v. "federal influence on education," 671.

96. *CIS US Congressional Committee Hearings Index: Part I: 23rd Congress - 64th Congress, Dec. 1833 - Mar. 1917*. Index by Subjects and Organizations, A-M. s.v. "federal aid to education."

has twenty-eight citations.⁹⁷ Later years in the index also include more subject headings concerning education.

The variety of federal interest in education and congressional debate extends from the standardization of football rules to the establishment of a liberal arts college.⁹⁸ Legislation influences and changes the design and organization of higher education whether the institutions are public or private. Although the extent higher education has been influenced by federal legislation it is not the purpose of this study to explore its significance. The relationship between changes in higher education and federal legislation should not be underestimated. Appendix B briefly illustrates this significant relationship.

97. *CIS US Congressional Committee Hearings Index: Part VI: 83rd Congress - 85th Congress, 1955-1958*. Index by Subjects and Organizations, A-L, s.v. "federal aid to education" and "federal aid to higher education."

98. *CIS US Congressional Committee Hearings Index: Part III: 69th Congress - 73rd, December 1925-1934*. Index by Subjects and Organizations, A-M, s.v. "colleges and universities." "H 509-0.124 Navy and Army football rules consistency with civilian universities." p. 131. James S. Fleming "The Eisenhower College Silver Dollar Legislation: A Case of Politics and Higher Education" *Journal of Higher Education* 57 (November/December 1986): 569-605. Ira M. Berger "The Death of a College: A Faculty Reminiscence of Eisenhower College" *Liberal Education* 70 (Winter 1984): 401-408.

CHAPTER TWO

TURNING THE KALEIDOSCOPE: MAKING SENSE OF HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM LITERATURE

If all the written documents on reform of higher education were bits of colored glass in a tube, and society were the mirror through which they were reflected, then by turning the tube, intricate patterns would emerge showing subtle changes with each turn along with occasional explosive differences appearing without warning. Higher education reform literature predictably concerns itself with design of the curriculum, access to education, standards, and the relationship of education to political stability and economic advancement. Within this pattern of discussion, higher education reform literature has evolved into three recognizable divisions. The divisions serve as demarcations of philosophical shifts in the study of higher education as a social function and the study of higher education as a discipline. Looking at higher education reform literature as a whole, the three divisions of literature emerge as:

1. The need to rally - characterized by a language of crisis and an urgency for improvement;
2. The need to organize - characterized by an interest in documenting facts, especially in a historical context; and
3. The need to understand - characterized by a reflective analysis and philosophical discussion.

A brief bibliographic essay of representative works illustrative of the three divisions follows. Although some journal articles are included, monographic literature is traditionally the method of communication in the humanities and, therefore, is emphasized here. This is appropriate for education which is a social science, because within historical, philosophical studies of education, humanities based methods are often used.

The need to rally

It has been observed that the American character is a self-critical character, that "For all their bragging and their hypersensitivity, Americans are, if not the most self-critical, at least the most anxiously self-conscious people in the world, forever concerned about the inadequacy of something or other . . ."¹ Higher education reform literature that uses a language of crisis in order to mobilize change is illustrative of the observation of Americans as self-critical. The students may be described as unresponsive, ill prepared or anti-intellectual; the curriculum may be decried as outmoded, superficial or lacking in coherence; the fate of the nation may be prophesied to be headed toward intellectual, economic and moral ruin, all because the colleges and universities are misguided and inadequate. The language of the Need to Rally literature tends to be emotional and the generalizations

1. Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), vii.

sweeping. It is the largest body of reform literature and is a style which remains popular.

In the early nineteenth century the crisis in higher education was curricular.² The prescribed curriculum versus a curriculum of electives, a classical languages requirement, and the inclusion of vocational or "practical" subjects were at the center of the debate. During the late 1820s, pressure for curricular reform was felt at Yale, Amherst College and other institutions of higher education.³ The debate was pervasive enough to elicit this comment from the *North American Review* when addressing curricular reform at Amherst:

the subject of education has of late excited so much of the public attention, that no apology will be required by our readers, if we occasionally introduce it to their consideration.⁴

By the mid-nineteenth century, criticism was being leveled at the students, teaching methods and standards. T. H. Rearden wrote in 1868 that "Liberal education so-called is a failure in the United States"⁵ and that the American

2. John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 100-119. Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977).

3. Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education*, 102.

4. "College Education Review of the Substance of Two Reports of the Faculty of Amherst College to the Board of Trustees, with the Doings of the Board there on. Amherst 1827," *North American Review* 28 (April 1829): 294.

5. T. H. Rearden, "Some Faults and Failings in American Education," *Overland Monthly*, (July 1868): 311.

student is decidedly inferior to the European student.⁶ The result is "The American Alumnus can do nothing well . . . He comes to his profession with none of that intellectual strength that attends upon the certainty of mental acquirements . . ."⁷ Providing more temperate criticism at this time were Charles F. Thwing, who identified the need to improve college teaching and to find a way to educate the ablest without denying access to education for all,⁸ and Charles Eliot of Harvard. Eliot supported the elective system and the expansion of the curriculum, as well as calling for improvement of college preparatory education.⁹

In the early twentieth century, harsh criticism continued to be leveled at the quality of students but more attention was given to the confusion of educational purpose as the root of higher education inadequacy. Abraham Flexner harshly criticized college faculties for emphasizing research over teaching in his *The American College*.¹⁰ Thorstein Veblen in his *The Higher Learning in America*¹¹ discussed the confusion of educational purpose as a result of historical accident and

6. Ibid, 311.

7. Ibid, 311.

8. Charles F. Thwing, "Educational Problems of the Twentieth Century," *Forum* 28 (Sept 1899-Feb 1900): 315-24.

9. Charles W. Eliot, *Educational Reform* (New York: Century Co., 1909).

10. Abraham Flexner, *The American College* (New York: Century, 1908).

11. Thorstein Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1918).

American utilitarianism.¹² "The university is to make good both as a corporation of learning and as a business concern dealing in standardized education . . ."¹³ Public service, extension and credentialling for the work force contribute to the confused roles taken on by the university. Add to this the "sideshows" of extra curricular activities and the dilution of the curriculum is only a natural occurrence.¹⁴ Robert Hutchins expressed the same notions of confusion and skewed priorities in his *The Higher Learning in America*.¹⁵

The vituperative nature of the reform literature described here did not escape criticism from contemporary critics. Flexner's *The American College* was reviewed in one source as superficial and wheezing "a rather laboured sound."¹⁶ Harry Gideonse faults Flexner and Hutchins for ignoring the self-critical role colleges and universities had taken. Gideonse reacts against the belittling language of both Flexner and Hutchins, criticizes Flexner for a vagueness of theory and accuses Hutchins of "intellectual dictatorship."¹⁷ Although Gideonse admits that higher

12. Ibid, 30, 33.

13. Ibid, 88.

14. Ibid, 119.

15. Robert Maynard Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936).

16. Harry Thurston Peck, "Eleven Books of the Month" *The Bookman* 28 (February 1909): 592.

17. Harry D. Gideonse, *The Higher Learning in a Democracy* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937), 30.

education is in need of "a searching scrutiny of its ends as well as its means,"¹⁸ the emotional and hostile language detracts from the important issues to be faced.¹⁹

The aftermath of World War II cooled the blistering language of most education reform literature although chronicling the limitations of students and the chaos of the curriculum continued. In 1956 Hutchins quotes two sources to illustrate the inadequacy of entering college students who cannot build correct sentences,²⁰ But the principal rally cry of post World War II education reform works was to establish a common core curriculum to assist in the understanding of humanity and help prevent the destruction World War II had proven could

18. Ibid, 2.

19. Ibid, 2-4.

20. Robert Maynard Hutchins quotes the president of Miami University in 1941 as saying "'Students continue to enter college who cannot read, just as they cannot spell and cannot understand fractions and cannot build correct sentences . . .'" *Some Observations on American Education* (Cambridge, Eng: University Press, 1956), 80. He presents further evidence of widespread student academic deficiency on page 81 with this: "A press release from the University of Illinois dated 13 January 1954 states 'Evidence has been found at the University of Illinois which shows that inadequacy in English has doubled among high school graduates in the last ten years.'"

occur.²¹ Also coming under criticism was teacher education.²² By the late 1960s, the interest in higher education expressed itself in increased access.²³

From the Yale Report of 1828 to Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind*²⁴ in 1987, America has produced a volume of literature which paints a bleak higher education landscape populated by underprepared students who won't learn and research driven teachers who won't teach or do so begrudgingly. History shows responsive and elastic higher education institutions that willingly participate in self-study and curricular reform.²⁵ From the Yale Report of 1828 to Harvard's experiments in 1945 and 1979 to the change of the general education curriculum at Columbia in the 1960s,²⁶ these are just a few

21. U. S. President's Commission. *Higher Education for American Democracy: A Report* (New York, Harper & Row, 1948). Rockefeller Fund. *The Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958).

22. James B. Conant, *The Education of American Teachers* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963).

23. Francis X. Russo, "Educational Wastelands Revisited," *Choice* 25 (July/August 1988): 1665. This excellent bibliographic essay covers school reform movements from 1955-1985. Although the emphasis is on education broadly, particularly elementary and secondary education, it does examine the crises of higher education.

24. Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987).

25. Harvard University, Committee on the Objectives of a General Education in a Free Society. *General Education in a Free Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1945). J. Q. Wilson, "Harvard's core curriculum: a view from the inside," *Change* (November 1978): 40-3. "New core curriculum, stiffer requirements approved at Harvard," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, (May 8, 1978): 12, Caleb Nelson, "Harvard's hollow 'core'" *Atlantic Monthly*, September 1990, 70-80.

26. Daniel Bell, *The Reforming of General Education: The Columbia College Experience in its National Setting* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966).

examples of the exceptions taken to the Need to Rally literature. The debate of liberal versus vocational education is as controversial now as it was in 1828 at Yale; the paradox is best expressed in the debates of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois in the demands of education for blacks.²⁷

Emotional, passionate, acerbic writing will likely remain as an acceptable style of education reform literature. The matter to recognize is that Need to Rally works generally are not original in their observations and descriptions.

The need to organize

The massive body of vitriolic education reform literature has not escaped the attention of historians. As the need for improving student preparation and achievement, as well as curricular design and access continued to be expressed, the lack of historical documentation to provide perspective became apparent. Daniel Coit Gilman makes the observation in 1876,

27. W. E. B. DuBois "Education and Work" *Journal of Negro Education* 1 (April 1932): 60-74. For a response regarding industrial education and an opinion of Hampton Institute see "Hampton" in *W.E.B. DuBois: A Reader* ed. Meyer Weinberg (New York: Harper & Row, 1970): 157-160. "We do not feel, at present, that Hampton is our school -- on the contrary, we feel that she belongs to the white South and to the reactionary North, and we fear that she is a center of that underground and silent intrigue which is determined to perpetuate the American Negro as a docile peasant and peon . . ." The disagreement of philosophies was a public as well as private debate, see *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, ed. Louis R. Harlan 11 vols. Urbana: University Press, 1989. Brubacher and Rudy, 76-76. For Booker T. Washington's opinion see "Why I made Tuskegee an Industrial School" *Papers*, 11: 470-5. As part of the larger debate of vocational versus a liberal education, support for Booker T. Washington's educational philosophy was expressed as "I do not know any school where he can get the education he needs so well as he could get it at Hampton or Tuskegee. The only trouble is that he is a white boy!" Lawrence F. Abbott, "What is the matter with our colleges?" *Outlook*, 5 September 1923, 14.

All investigators will find the task of reviewing the progress of American education during the last century peculiarly difficult. There is a great deficiency of historical and philosophical discussion bearing upon this subject; moreover, in consequence of the extreme decentralization which has governed the American policy in public instruction . . . the statistical and administrative reports, on which a thorough survey must be based, are scattered through many thousands of local reports, still uncollected and uncollated, and even, to a very considerable extent, not given to the press.²⁸

Gilman's factual description of education in America for the period 1776-1876 covers primary, secondary, collegiate, and special instruction.²⁹ It is one of the earliest attempts at describing the founding and organization of American education institutions. The United States Bureau of Education, founded in 1867, was established to collect and disseminate information regarding education.³⁰ Its *Circulars* and annual reports provided documentary information in the form of statistics and special reports.³¹

28. Daniel Coit Gilman, "Education in America, 1776-1876" *North American Review* 122 (January 1876): 192. Early histories of higher education include Donald Tewksbury. *Founding of Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University Press, 1932) and Charles F. Thwing. *History of Higher Education in America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1906).

29. Gilman, 191-228.

30. Gilman, 193. *Encyclopedia of Education* s.v. "United States Office of Education.

31. U.S. Office of Education. *Bulletin* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-1907). *Circulars of Information*. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1870-1903). *Statistical Circular* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923-29).

Specialized journals were established to disseminate research and opinions on education. William Russell edited the *American Journal of Education* which began publication in January 1826³² and in 1856 another journal by the same name was established by Henry Barnard.³³ Even with specialized journals to cover the field of education, the disquieting observation that a historical framework for higher education remained as a gap in American scholarship could truthfully be stated as late as 1962.

For some time now the general reader and the professional historian have had greater access to the history of almost any skirmish of the Civil War than they have had to the history of education in the United States. This book is intended in some way to redress the balance, as far as the American experience with higher education is concerned . . . the universities themselves have not yet created the body of historical literature from which a multivolume and definitive work might be written . . .³⁴

Histories of individual institutions appeared in the late nineteenth century. For example, Yale, Hamilton College, Lafayette College and the University of Minnesota all had published histories before 1890.³⁵ Most colleges and universities

32. *American Journal of Education* 1 (January 1826).

33. *The American Journal of Education* 1 (August 1855).

34. Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University* (New York: Knopf, 1962): vii.

35. Brubacher and Rudy, 527, 519, 521.

can boast of having at least one written history³⁶ and these works generally provide well researched descriptive information from a parochial viewpoint.

The higher education of individuals as defined by gender, race, national origin, handicapping ability and religion is another form of the historical documentation of higher education. Although the emphasis may be placed upon the group under study, works such as the *Evolution of the Negro College* by Dwight O. W. Holmes,³⁷ *From Backwater to Mainstream: A Profile of Catholic Higher Education*³⁸ and Mabel Newcomer's, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women*³⁹ provide a perspective often ignored in the discussion of higher education as a whole. Revisionist history, feminist theory and ethnic studies have more recently added to the interpretative body of higher education literature and the history of access to education as determined by gender, class and race.⁴⁰

36. Ibid, 515-527.

37. Dwight O. W. Holmes, *Evolution of the Negro College* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934). See also Charles S. Johnson. *The Negro College Graduate* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938).

38. Andrew M. Greeley, *From Backwater to Mainstream: A Profile of Catholic Higher Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969).

39. Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* (New York: Harper and Row, 1959).

40. Edward T. Silva and Sheila A. Slaughter, *Serving Power: The Making of the Academic Social Science Expert* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984). Most revisionist history is concerned with elementary and secondary schooling with higher education addressed as a general component of schooling. See Ira Katznelson and Margaret Weir. *Schooling for All: Class, Race, and the Decline of the Democratic Ideal* (New York: Basic Books, 1985). Ira Shor. *Culture Wars* (Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1986). For a response to the revisionists see Diane Ravitch, *The Revisionists Revised* (New

The diversity of institutions of higher education in America results in histories by type of learning institution. Histories of the liberal arts college,⁴¹ the land grant university,⁴² the technical institute,⁴³ and the schools of professional study,⁴⁴ have been written to describe the special role played in the development of American higher education. Reform of higher education may not be the impetus for these works although the issue may be addressed in individual studies.⁴⁵

York: Basic Books, 1978). John H. Kohler, III, review of *The Troubled Crusade*, by Diane Ravitch, *Educational Studies* 16 (Spring 1985): 32-39. D. Post, "College-going decisions by Chicanos: The politics of misinformation" *Educational Evaluation & Policy Analysis* 12 (Summer 1990): 174-87. C. Bennett and A. M. Okinaka, "Factors related to persistence among Asian, black, Hispanic, and white undergraduates at a predominantly white university: comparison between first and fourth year cohorts" *Urban Review* 22 (March 1990): 33-60.

41. George P. Schmidt, *The Liberal Arts College: A Chapter in American Cultural History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957). For a study looking at the inclusion of occupational curricula in the liberal arts college see Leonard V. Roos, "The Trend of Reorganization in Higher Education," *School Review* 32 (September 1924): 575-586 and its continuation (November 1924): 656-666.

42. National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Universities. "The State and Land-Grant Universities," In *Handbook on Contemporary Education*, ed. S. E. Goodman. (New York: Bowken, 1976): 44-48.

43. Monte A. Calvert, *The Mechanical Engineers in America, 1830-1910* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967). Samuel Reznick. *Education for a Technological Society* (Troy, N.Y.: Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1968).

44. *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, 5th ed., s.v. "Professions Education."

45. Most works on the liberal arts college were in reaction to its alleged demise. See Isaac Sharpless. *The American College* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1915): viii. F.A.P. Barnard "On Improvements Practicable in American Colleges" *American Journal of Education* 1 (January 1856): 174-185. For demands on the state university see *The Future of State Universities: Issues in Teaching, Research, and Public Service*. eds. Leslie W. Koepplin and David A. Wilson (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1985).

Even with these works, the organization of significant source material remained to be done. Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith lamented this lack. They recognized the existence of works that were limited by type of source, geographical region or studied all of education⁴⁶ but

The reader who wants to get from original materials an over-all view of the development of higher education--its institutions, their systems of government, curriculum, conditions of faculty organization, academic freedom, educational controversies--must resort to hundreds of scattered works. There has been no central sourcebook to satisfy this important area of curiosity, to serve the purposes of teachers, or to stimulate research.⁴⁷

The response was their edited two volume work, *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*.⁴⁸ This handbook of primary source material provided a foundation for comparative and interpretative study.

Thematic works on higher education appeared slowly. In 1952 it could still be said

we have been aware of a failure to think of higher education in this country in its broad social setting, in

46. Specifically Edward C. Elliott and M. M. Chambers, *Charters and Basic Laws of Selected American Universities and Colleges* (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1934). *The Colleges and the Courts* (N.Y.: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1936) Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, eds. *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*. 2 vol. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961): vii-ix.

47. Hofstadter and Smith, viii.

48. Hofstadter and Smith, *American Higher Education* (Chicago, 1961).

terms of what it has meant to American society and what American society has done for it . . . ⁴⁹

Through the 1960s to recent works, histories of higher education have been written which explore historical fact and social themes. Laurence R. Veysey's *The Emergence of the American University* considers the academic philosophies, principal players, the academic structure and the connections between all three in the rise of the American university.⁵⁰ In 1974 the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education funded a study on the college curriculum to tie together broad influences and trends.⁵¹ Inspired by the campus protests of the late 1960s and early 1970s, David W. Robson studied the early American college in the turmoil of the American Revolution to understand the college community and its environment.⁵²

Higher education reform literature has as a base works that collate facts and works that interpret facts within a theoretical model or thematic observation. Although these works may not set out to repair an institution perceived as in need

49. John D. Millett, Forward to *The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States*, by Richard Hofstadter and C. Dewitt Hardy. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952): viii.

50. Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

51. Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977).

52. David W. Robson, *Educating Republicans: The College in the Era of the American Revolution, 1750-1800* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985).

of change, they are often written in response to critical charges that do not utilize the historical record.

The need to understand

The literature of higher education reform is voluminous and, excluding the histories, distressingly repetitive. The literature is so diffuse and wordy that by its utter ubiquity scholars have directed attention to its massive redundancy. Formal attempts to understand what in the American experience causes these predictable outbursts on education are a recent development. This literature differs from the philosophies of education in that it asks what is it about American expectations and American forms of education that leads the process of debate to occur regularly. Philosophies of education ask what are the principles and theories guiding the debate. Philosophies of education ask what should be taught and why.

It has been stated that colleges existed in the United States for nearly two hundred years before a philosophy of education was explicitly stated.⁵³ Since the early twentieth century, excellent works defining, comparing, or stating philosophies of education for American life have appeared.⁵⁴ Most of these works consider

53. Brubacher and Rudy, 287.

54. John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1916). Hutchins, *The Higher Learning*. Theodore Brameld, *Patterns of Educational Philosophy*. (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1950). See also the yearbooks of the National Society for the Study of Education (NSSE), *Philosophies of Education*, Part I, the forty-first yearbook of *The National Society for the Study of Education*, ed. John S. Brubacher (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942) and *Modern*

education broadly and set forth a philosophy for elementary and secondary education as well as higher education. Brameld, Brubacher and Wingo are just a few of the authors who have observed the patterns of educational thought and explicitly stated their emergence and application in American life.⁵⁵ The intent of this section is to draw attention to a work that is a piece of reflective inquiry that asks not what ought to be but rather what is within a reflective, interpretive framework.

Eva T. H. Brann's *Paradoxes of Education in a Republic*⁵⁶ was written "from a recurrent sense that American education embodies certain root dilemmas that would become much more amenable to reflection and resolution if they were seen as originating in the very foundation of this country."⁵⁷ Unlike works that blame a curriculum for being out of step or students being intellectually softer than previous generations, this work asks what is it about this nation, its political

Philosophies and Education, Part I, the fifty-fourth yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, ed. Nelson B. Henry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955). Mark Van Doren, *Liberal Education* (New York: Henry Holt, 1943). Michael R. Harris, *Five Counterrevolutionists in Higher Education* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1970).

55. Theodore Brameld, *Philosophies of Education in Cultural Perspective* (New York: Dryden Press, 1955). *Education for the Emerging Age* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965). John S. Brubacher *The University: Its Identity Crisis* (New Britain, Conn.: Central Connecticut State College, 1972). G. Max Wingo. *Philosophies of Education: An Introduction* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1974).

56. Eva T. H. Brann. *Paradoxes of Education in a Republic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

57. Ibid, 1.

foundation and historical roots that constantly witnesses a clash of opinions on education. She delineates three paradoxes, utility, tradition and rationality and defines the paradox as "a dilemma inherent in the thing itself, the kind of inner breach not improperly called tragic, a grave difficulty that enhances rather than degrades its matter."⁵⁸ Brann's paradoxes differ from Hutchins' sources of confusion--materialism, anti-intellectualism and a skewed notion of progress⁵⁹ or other critical works of higher education in that her work is not expressly critical. Her purpose is to explain, not complain. Brann seeks to explain how the arguments of education for citizenship (utility), education by great books (tradition) and education devoid of personal, reflective thought (rationality) fit into the framework of the American republic. Her sources for the discussion are divided by seven groups: inquiries on learning and teaching, treatises by wise and experienced teachers, founding charters and proposals of educational institutions, educational utopias, instructional method, education practice in the early American republic and the fundamental texts "which ground educational plans in human nature and in

58. Ibid, 1.

59. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning*, 5. Brann, 1-5.

nature itself."⁶⁰ These sources extend from Aristotle and Plato to Bacon, More and Milton to Franklin, Jefferson and Webster.⁶¹

No battle is fought in her work over democratic and nondemocratic education, progress and inertia, who has been right and who has been wrong. She traces how education came into being and in the process ends with a philosophy of education which is reflective, that is, a system of inquiry.⁶² There is no denial that life is made up of "practical and productive affairs,"⁶³ so that a reflective education would not be impractical but "prepractical."⁶⁴

Brann's work is seminal in that she explains the foundation of American education, particularly collegiate education, using original sources and teases out the paradoxes inherent in the stated positions. Similarities to other works may be superficially recognized, for example, to Allen Oscar Hansen's work on the influence of liberal philosophy on American education⁶⁵ and to the metaphysics of

60. Brann, 10.

61. Ibid, 5-10.

62. Ibid, 145.

63. Ibid, 145.

64. Ibid, 146.

65. Allen Oscar Hansen. *Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Macmillan, 1926). Brann is concerned with collegiate education, whereas Hansen looks at education broadly. Sources used by both authors are similar but different purposes were stated in the studies.

Robert Hutchins.⁶⁶ The comparisons are superficial, for Hutchins set out to blast higher education and Hansen's interests were in the scientific development of institutions and the degree to which political liberalism guided the evolution of American education.⁶⁷ Brann's work is pensive, the result of tackling a task by her own admission not of "a scholarly investigation . . ."⁶⁸ The importance of sitting back, calmly reading and synthesizing the volume of literature in education to identify certain peculiarities and perplexities without assigning blame adds to higher education reform literature a philosophical dimension previously lacking. *The Need to Understand literature* is characterized by reflective analysis, scholarly synthesis and philosophical discussion. It attempts to explain and not complain. It is a literature which seeks to comprehend.

Higher education reform literature is extensive. It is a literature of urgency, history and reflection. To understand the documents under consideration of the 1983-1988 higher education reform movement, it is important to describe the context of the genre.

66. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning*. See also Mortimer J. Adler. *How to Read a Book* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940).

67. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning*. Hansen. v.

68. Brann, 1.

CHAPTER THREE

AN ANALYSIS OF SELECTED HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM DOCUMENTS

Introduction

Placing higher education reform in a historical context and dividing its literature into thematic categories shows that the reform movement of 1983-88 was not unique in its occurrence. But did the most recent movement differ fundamentally in its message? Specifically, was it a reform movement reduced by an economic vision? Eight documents produced by blue ribbon commissions either sponsored by higher education associations or the federal government have been selected for analysis. The works of the blue ribbon commissions have been selected for analysis because they are a frequent technique used in promoting change for higher education.¹ Although works by influential individuals and self-studies by institutions make significant contributions to higher education reform, the blue ribbon commission is a national barometer of policy change and, therefore, has been selected for analysis of the documentation. Also, the high visibility and influence of the blue ribbon commission is almost a guarantee that its report will

1. Janet R. Johnson and Laurence R. Marcus, *Blue Ribbon Commissions and Higher Education: Changing Academe from the Outside*. ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report No. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Association for the Study of Higher Education, 1986): iii,1.

be widely distributed and discussed thereby ensuring grassroots involvement in reform.²

***Involvement in Learning: Realizing the Potential
of American Higher Education***³

Inspired by the public reaction to *A Nation at Risk*, the National Institute of Education (NIE) appointed a seven member study group to focus on ways to improve higher education, specifically, undergraduate education, because "As long as the spotlight of the debate focuses only on elementary and secondary education, we limit our ability to become a learning society."⁴ *A Nation at Risk* was cited as important to the NIE report because it "underscored the ways in which higher education influences the other levels of education, and secondly, it drew our attention to the need for using the knowledge base, the results of research, to our debates concerning improvement in education."⁵

2. Ibid, 3-9.

3. Study Group on the Conditions of Excellence in American Higher Education, *Involvement in Learning: Realizing the Potential of American Higher Education* (Alexandria, Va.: ERIC Document Reproduction Service ED 246 833, 1984).

4. Ibid, 12.

5. Ibid, 9.

The study group's preliminary report, *The Progress of an Agenda*,⁶ delineates the charge of the group, its review of relevant literature and archival material, and its decision to focus on undergraduate education. Of particular interest to the analysis of the final report, *Involvement in Learning*, is the generation of questions for exploration. These questions "were stimulated more by inference than direct treatment in the background materials assembled by the commission."⁷

Reading the following question posed in the preliminary report, "what is the most productive balance between general and specialist education in preparing students for work roles, family roles, and citizenship roles?"⁸ is interesting to the overall analysis because of the priority placed on work and the citizen as an economic input. The private sphere of family and public sphere as citizen are placed after work. The economic vision of education implies the philosophy underlying the final report.

The NIE was established by Congress in 1972 to study how to achieve desired outcomes of education, especially equal educational opportunities and high

6. Study Group on the Conditions of Excellence in American Higher Education, *The Progress of an Agenda: A First Report from the Study Group on the Conditions of Excellence in American Higher Education* (Alexandria, Va.: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 244 577, 1984).

7. *Involvement in Learning*, 17.

8. *Ibid*, 17.

quality education.⁹ It was fitting that this governmental body under the Department of Education conducted one of its seminars or study groups "to suggest ways in which policy analysis, research, and recommendations for improvement in higher education could be developed and implemented."¹⁰

Analysis

The importance of education to the economy is explicitly stated early in the report but takes an implicit meaning until all other instrumental reasons for education fade from the discussion. *Involvement in Learning* is specifically concerned with improving college teaching. The student is only cursorily addressed as a citizen in political, economic or social terms.

Involvement in Learning opens with the remark that education is "an enterprise" and this enterprise contributes 3% to the Gross National Product.¹¹ The baccalaureate is described as the basic credential for employment with little discussion of additional purposes of the college degree.¹² Furthering the economic vision of education is the association of prosperity and economic progress with

9. *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* s.v. "Culture and Education Policy." p. 400.

10. *Involvement in Learning*, p. 6.

11. *Ibid*, 16.

12. *Ibid*, 16.

higher education.¹³ This relationship is described within higher education's role as protector and transmitter of culture;¹⁴ nevertheless the economic impact of education is not absent from this report. Citing thirty years of research on the effects of college education on students, a list of seven contributions is presented. The seven contributions are: cognitive, emotional, and moral development, economic productivity and effectiveness as consumers, family life, leisure activities and health. On this list, economic productivity is fourth in importance, sandwiched between moral development and family life, with recreation and health finishing the list.¹⁵ Interestingly, in reporting research on the effects of higher education as reported by alumni, economic well-being is not mentioned:

College alumni who participate in follow-up surveys consistently cite the enduring benefits of higher education in making them aware of different cultures and ways of life, in promoting their understanding of science and technology, and in developing their interpersonal skills.¹⁶

Obligatory statements concerning a liberal education are made after it is noted that narrow specialization with an emphasis on vocational training is

13. Ibid, 16-17.

14. Ibid, 17.

15. Ibid, 17.

16. Ibid, 17.

becoming the rule of undergraduate education.¹⁷ This observation is made under the heading of "warning signals" pointing to a gap in real and desired expectations. The suggested "desired" expectation is for increased bachelors' degrees to be awarded in the traditional arts and sciences. Specialization is criticized for isolating students and distorting their vision so that "the college curriculum has become excessively vocational in its orientation, and the bachelor's degree has lost its potential to foster the shared values and knowledge that bind us together as a society."¹⁸ A dosage of "at least two full years of liberal education"¹⁹ is prescribed presumably to cultivate societal solidarity.

The contradictory extolling of the economic virtues of higher education and the criticism of a vocational curriculum is not a compelling argument for liberal education. And as one review from the popular press noted,

with young people feeling so insecure about their economic future, many are looking for programs that will pay off in jobs and they are often right in suspecting that employers will be more impressed by narrowly specialized degrees.²⁰

17. Ibid, 20.

18. Ibid, 21.

19. Ibid, 52.

20. Andrew Hacker, "The Decline of Higher Learning," *New York Review of Books* 13 February 1986, 42.

The shared values and goals stated early in the report are free of an economic vision. Readers are told that what shaped the study group's analysis and conclusions was the belief that the American citizenry must be educated, specifically, "knowledgeable, creative, and open to ideas."²¹ To obtain this goal, higher education must be broadened and deepened with increased access and participation of the population, preservation and protection of diversity, and the maintenance of high standards.²² All of this is placed within the context of the human being as a resource. It is stated that the "wastes of human potential"²³ must be avoided, but no reason is given. Is it because opportunity for self-fulfillment of the individual has been denied? Or is it that the opportunity for producing a productive economic input has been lost? The attention given to economic benefits of higher education suggests that the latter is the motivation for realizing the potential of all beings.

Involvement in Learning is written from the perspective of something being wrong with higher education, and that something is quality of college teaching, weakening of standards, emphasis on time and performance while disregarding the value of course content.²⁴ The tone is set early with the use of language from the

21. *Involvement in Learning*, 13.

22. Ibid, 13.

23. Ibid, 13.

24. Ibid, 22-27.

financial world, for example, GNP, enterprise, prosperity, growth. Also there is a stated association of higher education with economic prosperity. Although *Involvement in Learning* is not representative of a wholly economic vision, an analysis shows a perspective oriented primarily to wealth and economic progress.

*Integrity in the College Curriculum*²⁵

The Project on Redefining the Meaning and Purpose of Baccalaureate degrees was begun in 1982, one year before the publication of *A Nation at Risk*. The Association of American Colleges, which established the project and published its report, *Integrity in the College Curriculum*, was responding to three national commissions that criticized undergraduate education for inadequate teaching of the humanities, foreign languages and science for non science majors.²⁶ The wave of reform that gained momentum after *Risk* suggested to the AAC that public confidence in higher education was weakening.²⁷ In the Association's opinion, too much effort was being spent in analyzing weaknesses rather than in finding ways to

25. Project on Redefining the Meaning and Purpose of Baccalaureate Degrees, *Integrity in the College Curriculum: A Report to the Academic Community* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges, 1985).

26. Ibid, i. See the following reports. William J. Bennett, *To Reclaim a Legacy: A Report on the Humanities in Higher Education*, (Washington, D.C.: National Endowment for the Humanities, 1984). National Research Council's Committee on a Study of the Federal Role in College Science Education of Non-Specialists. *Science for Non-Specialists: The College Years*, (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1982). Richard D. Lambert et al., *Beyond Growth: The Next Stage in Language and Area Studies*, (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Universities, 1984).

27. *Integrity in the College Curriculum*, 1, 3.

surmount the deficiencies.²⁸ The report was offered to address "the crisis in American education as it is revealed in the decay in the college course of study and in the role of college faculties in creating and nurturing that decay."²⁹

Founded in 1915, the Association of American Colleges is for "colleges, universities, and schools or colleges within universities that are committed to promoting human and liberating learning."³⁰ Nineteen members served on the Project's panel.

Analysis

To stir belief in the idea that higher education is in disrepair, the first example comes from the business community and its complaints of ill-educated graduates.

Evidence of decline and devaluation is everywhere. The business community complains of difficulty in recruiting literate college graduates.³¹

Further indication of decline is foreign language incompetence which "threatens to be an enfeebling disadvantage in the conduct of business and diplomacy."³² Here

28. Ibid, ii.

29. Ibid, 1.

30. *Encyclopedia of Associations*. 25th ed. (New York: Gale Research, 1991): 802.

31. *Integrity in the College Curriculum*, 1.

32. Ibid, 2.

the world of commerce is established as the first priority, while issues of character and global understanding are placed second and third in importance.

The 1980s theme of educational failure is embraced with the purpose of addressing the decline and decay of undergraduate education.³³ The history of higher education is presented in economic terms, "The degree--there was only one, the B.A.--was a passport to the learned professions."³⁴ To disabuse readers of the notion that education was for earning a living, it is stated that "most of the nations' work was happily and effectively done by people who had not gone to college."³⁵ In other words, the lesser professions had not come along yet to defile the curriculum. The value of the baccalaureate for work, whether of the learned professions or not, is not viewed as contradictory. This golden age of American higher education, when college was for "the learned professions" is termed "authority of tradition."³⁶ The authority of tradition protected the curriculum from challenge but became undermined by the rise of graduate education in post Civil War America.³⁷ Afterwards "the grip of departmental autonomy and a

33. Language of illness and death is used throughout the report to evoke images of deterioration and decay. See pages 1, 3 and the Foreward.

34. *Integrity in the College Curriculum*, 3.

35. Ibid, 3-4.

36. Ibid, 4.

37. Ibid, 4.

misguided market place philosophy" are blamed for causing confusion in the undergraduate curriculum.³⁸

The Association of American Colleges proposed a nine elements minimum required curriculum. The requirements are: inquiry, literacy, understanding numerical data, historical awareness, science, values, aesthetic appreciation, international and multicultural experiences, and study in depth.³⁹ All nine elements are free from economic concerns with one slight exception in the understanding of numerical data. For example, "a citizen intellectually comfortable with these concepts [e.g. statistics, scatter, interpretation of charts and graphs] would, among other things, be less vulnerable to the issue of numbers by advertisers and political candidates."⁴⁰ The citizen as consumer is presented before citizen as voter.

The vision of *Integrity in the College Curriculum* is blurred by nostalgia but sharpened by philosophical perennialism. Use of language such as "decline" and devaluation suggest that a better past existed and that it needs to be restored.⁴¹ Elements of economic concerns are evident, but the purpose is not to present a

38. Ibid, 5.

39. Ibid, 15-24.

40. Ibid, 18.

41. Ibid, 1-9. Hacker, *New York Review of Books*, 35.

curriculum for individual and national economic well-being. There is the economic notion of placing the bachelor's degree on a pedestal when it was the credential for the learned professions. To reform education with the philosophy that the baccalaureate is to provide training for a profession is a contradictory argument for liberal education.

The opening paragraphs defined the individual as a worker. Although *Integrity in the College Curriculum* is not an economically reductionist report, the report is tainted by an occupational view of the educated citizen.

*'To Secure the Blessings of Liberty'*⁴²

The title of this report is derived from the preamble of the U. S. Constitution to underscore the importance of higher education to the nation.⁴³ It is a report using militaristic language presented in a passionate and emotional tone. Sponsored by the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, and chaired by Terrel Bell, this panel was charged to write a statement on the role state colleges and universities should serve in the future.

In his memoir as a Reagan cabinet member, Terrel Bell describes how he wanted to jolt American citizens into improving the educational system. He wanted

42. "To Secure the Blessings of Liberty': Text of Report on State Colleges' Role," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 12 November 1986, 29-36.

43. Ibid, 36.

something of the magnitude of Sputnik, which of course could not be manufactured, so the alternative was to write a report.⁴⁴

I began to think about asking the president to appoint a first-rate panel to study the problems of American education. The response from my colleagues was dubious . . . But I knew from past history that this [inaction] need not be the consequence of a study . . . At the end of World War II a report to the president and the Congress on the appalling conditions in war-ravaged Europe led to the massive rebuilding program of the Marshall Plan . . . [this report] jolted people into action.⁴⁵

'To Secure the Blessings of Liberty' borrows heavily from the language of the military, giving it a unique and urgent tone. The use of military and economic language adds to the sense of viewing citizens as instruments rather than as free participants. An analysis of this report points to a reductionist vision of education and human development.

Analysis

The opening sentence "Ignorance is the enemy of democracy,"⁴⁶ suggests a Jeffersonian expression of the relationship between an educated citizenry and a strong democracy but the report immediately addresses the citizen as worker and

44. Terrel H. Bell, *Thirteenth Man: A Reagan Cabinet Memoir* (New York: Free Press, 1988): 114-115.

45. *Ibid*, 115.

46. *Blessings*, 29.

potential solidier. For example, unemployment is listed first as a consequence of limited education; "unenlightened citizen participation or nonparticipation in elections"⁴⁷ is mentioned as a danger afterward. The citizen is a "resource" and there is "staggering waste and dissipation" of our human resources.⁴⁸ This waste is occurring because

the nation is only partially committed to educating all of its people at a time when our international standing is being threatened and our economic future eroded by highly educated, highly motivated competitors abroad.⁴⁹

The threat to liberty is established early as an economic threat. National security is drawn into the argument by noting that uneducated people cannot run the sophisticated equipment produced for the military.⁵⁰ Presenting the nation as endangered by economic collapse and vulnerable to hostile takeover is compelling, but the arguments for reforming higher education to protect the nation from such a collapse are not. The themes of the pursuit of happiness, self-fulfillment and national allegiance are disturbingly absent for a report that takes as its title a passage from the nation's foundation of fundamental laws and principles.

47. Ibid, 29.

48. Ibid, 29.

49. Ibid, 29.

50. Ibid, 29.

Economic competitiveness and strength as necessary ingredients for the pursuit of happiness, self-fulfillment and national allegiance is a longstanding concept and one that was not lost on the founders of the United States. For example, an economic interpretation of the Constitution is a well established theory in revisionist history.⁵¹ Thomas Jefferson wrote of the relationship between education and national prosperity⁵² and Benjamin Franklin is remembered for his establishment of academies to meet the mercantile interests of the middle class.⁵³ But the difference is that Jefferson and Franklin did not describe the individual as a tool of the state. From the documents, letters and papers of these founding fathers, an

51. Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, 1913 Reprint (New York: Macmillan, 1935).

52. "It is of advantage to the state to promote higher education because in colleges and universities are formed 'the statesmen, legislators and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend.'" *Thomas Jefferson and Education in a Republic* Ed. Charles Finn Arrowood. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1930): 63. In twentieth century terms the above can be interpreted as a labor market supply theory of education but in eighteenth century term it is a statement expressing a commitment and orientation toward the individual in society. See also Benjamin Rush, "Let our pupil be taught that he does not belong to himself, but that he is public property." *Essays on Education in the Early Republic* Ed. Frederick Rudolph (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965): xv. Benjamin Rush recognized "commercial opportunity as security against the development of a landed aristocracy . . ." xx.

53. *The Encyclopedia of Education* (New York: Macmillan, Free Press, 1971). s.v. "comprehensive high school." Benjamin Franklin is credited with providing the growing middle class the education they wanted. He proposed an academy that focused on the decorative and on the useful. "The academy was particularly attractive to the parents and children in the growing middle classes who needed an education to cope with their commercial, mercantile, industrial, and retail interest." 371. See also Henry J. Perkinson, *Two Hundred Years of American Educational Thought* (New York: David McKay, 1976): 15.

imagery is evoked of citizens who are loyal yet questioning, connected to public good yet motivated by individual achievement.⁵⁴ Contrast this--

'By that part of our plan which prescribes the selection of the youths of genius from among the classes of the poor, we hope to avail the state of those talents which nature has sown as liberally among the poor as the rich, but which perish without use, if not sought for and cultivated. But of the views of this law none is more important, none more legitimate, than that of rendering the people the safe [sic], as they are the ultimate guardians of their own liberty.'⁵⁵

with this-- "In a society in which knowledge is a source of wealth, deprivation of access to higher education is a form of bondage."⁵⁶ The first quotation by Jefferson suggests that the educated person helps, "avails" the state, and the state, by educating the individual, liberates that person to understand how to remain protected from tyranny. The second quotation which is from the panel, uses the language of freedom, but education clearly releases one from economic slavery; political bondage is not addressed.

54. Hansen, *Liberalism and American Education*, 50, 56, 112-125, 141. Thomas Jefferson, *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Ed. Julian P. Boyd. Vol. 9. (1 November 1785-2 June 1786) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954): 151, 246-9, 517.

55. Thomas Jefferson, *The Portable Thomas Jefferson*. Ed. Merrill D. Peterson (New York: Viking, 1975): 198. An unflattering view of humanity though is given in this description of selecting boys for schooling "of the boys thus sent in any one year, trial is to be made at the grammar schools one or two years, and the best genius of the whole selected, and continued six years, and the residue dismissed. By this means twenty of the best geniuses will be raked from the rubbish annually . . ." 196. The disposal of human talent and the division of humanity into rubbish and useful taints the vision human equality.

56. *Blessings*, 32.

'To Secure the Blessings of Liberty' directs attention to poverty, a growing underclass, and other social and economic conditions as evidence of a gathering storm for public higher education to face.⁵⁷ But these problems are first, an indication that the economy is jeopardized and, second, offered as evidence that democratic values are being threatened.⁵⁸ The conclusion, that ignorance is "costly,"⁵⁹ an economic term, is a stark contrast to

Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties . . . it shall be the duty of legislators and magistrates, in all future periods of this commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and science . . . to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings, sincerity, good humor, and all social affections and generous sentiments among the people.⁶⁰

Democratic values are lauded by the report, for example with this statement:

"Democracy depends on the informed consent of the governed."⁶¹ But with the

57. Ibid, 29.

58. Ibid, 29.

59. Ibid, 29.

60. John Adams, *The Works of John Adams*, 4 vols. 1850-59. (Reprint. Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1969) v. 4: 259.

61. *Blessings*, 30.

same pen, it is written, "Educated people bring social and economic benefits to their communities . . ." ⁶²

Similar to the founding fathers, the panel recognizes the benefit of educational opportunity to all social classes. But the panel associates liberty with freedom from economic impoverishment, not freedom from political tyranny or ownership of a master. Education equips "each individual to 'break out' of underclass status--to 'be all that you can be.'" ⁶³ There is an implication that social barriers such as racism and sexism are nonexistent and political barriers such as limited voting privileges and racial segregation were not obstacles to eradicate. And the panel's use of an advertising cliché disseminated to persuade enlistment in the U. S. Army trivializes the concept of human development and participation as a citizen. To emphasize the importance of higher education the panel offers increased access to higher education as a solution to the federal deficit:

Our national investment in higher education is not part of the deficit problem. Instead, it is part of the solution. An educated populace is a productive populace, earning and returning a portion of that earning power to society in the form of taxes. Education is not a luxury; we cannot be strong either militarily or economically unless we are also strong educationally. ⁶⁴

62. Ibid, 29.

63. Ibid, 33.

64. Ibid, 34.

A complicated web of expectations and needs enslaves the panel to promote a logic which values learning for the economic impact it has on the nation. The panel notes that "Historically, America's economic growth--and thus its national security--has been inextricably linked to the development of human resources and the applications of advances in research and technology to every sector of the nation's business and industry."⁶⁵ The panel in turn offers the following conceptual framework:

Experience and common sense tell us that educated people: bring economic benefits to their communities and states, get better jobs, earn higher wages, pay more taxes, stimulate America's cultural, intellectual, and scientific progress, and become more productive and responsible citizens.⁶⁶

Educated people are first, good for the wealth of the nation, fifth, good for its intellectual progress, and last, are responsible citizens. This view does not value education as an intellectual enterprise but, rather, as an economic input that pays off.⁶⁷

65. Ibid, 34.

66. Ibid, 34.

67. *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (New York: Free Press, 1982), s.v. "Economics and Education" 519-532. Education as an input into the productivity and economic growth of a nation became an area of study mid twentieth century. Developing theories from this research include human capital theory and the study of labor markets. See also Larry L. Leslie and Paul T. Brinkman, *The Economic Value of Higher Education* (New York: Macmillan for the American Council on Education, 1988).

The value of education and educational institutions is based upon a comparison of states with low educational levels and high unemployment and its converse⁶⁸ and the ability for a community to attract new businesses based on educational facilities.⁶⁹ State colleges and universities are praised for generating a secure economy and providing a pathway into the middle class, "thus helping to ensure the stability of our free economy and our democratic government."⁷⁰ Having a college or university in a community is described as raising the community's portfolio.⁷¹ The language is of banking and the stock exchange with regular use of terms such as investment, portfolio, dividends, returns.⁷²

'To Secure the Blessings of Liberty' is a contradictory report in that it feels some obligation to express feeling for democratic values without fully developing the political ideals. Liberty is defined as the ability to find employment as a white

68. *Blessings*, 34. "The map of every state is dotted with economic backwaters where educational levels are low, unemployment is high, and prospects for growth are dim."

69. Ibid, 34. "Recent studies show that in a business decision to relocate, such factors as the quality of the public schools, local higher education and cultural centers, and communications facilities are often as important as access to raw materials, markets, or cheap labor."

70. Ibid, 34.

71. Ibid, 34. "Closing the doors of a college or university devalues the state's human capital portfolios and remove its resources from those available for investment in future economic growth . . ."

72. Ibid, 34. "Investment in Human Capital." Also the language of saving and thrift is pervasive in the opening--"waste" "reduced productivity." "The United States is using up its intellectual capital but not replacing it." p.29. "Society's investment in education is thus constantly renewed; by paying taxes, each generation accepts the responsibility to increase educational opportunity for successive generations." p. 31.

collar worker. Cursory attention is given to the social and political duty of the citizen,⁷³ but each expression of commitment to the public good is quickly followed by an expression of the citizen as an economic input. The citizen is a commodity to be manipulated--an investment which, if educated to a certain level, pays a higher dividend. The Commission on the Role and Future of State Colleges and Universities reduces the citizen and education to economic ends. Although the report attempts to embrace traditional democratic, liberal themes of individual self-fulfillment, the economic vision renders the report economically reductionist.

*In the National Interest: Higher Education and Federal Government, the Essential Partnership*⁷⁴

The 1980s was a period of tax revolts and efforts to limit government spending on social programs⁷⁵ and the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges recognized this. Faced with less financial aid available to students, less research money to apply for, and less operating money, this report

73. Ibid, 31. "U.S. higher education has a long history of preparing young adults for responsible civic leadership. However, in recent years, with the nation's problems becoming more complex, social scientists and other educators have observed that the interest of college students in their obligations as citizens appears to have diminished." See also p. 29 and 30 for traditional democratic values protection of self government and the role of education.

74. National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, *In the National Interest: Higher Education and the Federal Government, the Essential Partnership* (Washington, D.C.: NASULGC, 1983-84).

75. Terry Schwadron, *California and the American Tax Revolt: Proposition 13 Five Years Later* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984). James Ring Adams, *Secret of the Tax Revolt* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984).

was offered to the 98th Congress as a plea to save education from impending cuts.⁷⁶ Education is presented as a pressing economic priority for federal responsibility. Using the economic values of the attackers, an economic defense of education is constructed.

Analysis

What do universities do? Universities "provide the manpower to run the economy and most of the new knowledge that fuels it . . ."⁷⁷ Human and cultural understanding also takes place in the university but this is last in importance to its training a workforce.⁷⁸ Using the economic input theory of education,⁷⁹ students are described as raw material to be manipulated for natural prosperity and security ends.⁸⁰ Students are not considered as active participants in learning.

Federal support of education is presented with long, historical roots and with the reminder that support was given "not merely out of benevolence toward the

76. Ibid, 3.

77. Ibid, 5.

78. ". . . they serve as a vital link in development of social goals of equality, humaneness, and cultural replenishment; they offer the essential base for all determinants of national security . . ." Sentence following footnote 77.

79. See note 67.

80. Ibid, 5.

enterprise, but in direct service to national goals and priorities."⁸¹ Clearly the report makes it known that seeking federal support is not an exercise of charity but, rather, one of receiving its rightful share in support of national economic and military well-being. The founders of the nation are presented as understanding the connection between education and national economic and military security. As evidence, the powers delegated to the Executive Branch by the U.S. Constitution, that is, "to provide for the Common Defense" and "to promote the general welfare" are given to justify federal support of education. The results of university supported research is praised for improving the quality of life and eight examples are provided as just an example of the direct, practical results of federally supported research.⁸² To emphasize research's role in "the pursuit of happiness" the recognition of limited growth and lower expectations is contrasted with the ability of science and technology to fulfill even higher expectations and feelings of entitlement.

The times and our position of world leadership demand a creative and carefully charted approach to the problem of resource scarcity--one that incorporates the traditional strength of our people, their ingenuity, with the realities of rapid international change such an approach must originate in the realm of science and technology, an area which, in the modern world, offers

81. Ibid, 5.

82. Ibid, 6-9.

the ultimate weapon . . . the promise of unlimited possibility.⁸³

To impress the point, it is stated that most of the research for defense related activities and application is produced in the university;⁸⁴ and although the building of sophisticated and extensive arsenals is presented as one piece of the security puzzle,

Weaponry alone, however, does not secure a nation in the modern world, and research universities' contributions to the nation's economic strength-- innovation through research, production of a highly skilled labor force--have been crucial to maintaining the peace.⁸⁵

The need for an economy that is internationally competitive is stressed throughout the report.⁸⁶ To be competitively successful the university needs to supply human capital.⁸⁷ The citizen is represented as manpower with the university training the managerial and technical workforce. To recognize this and to recognize the value of generous federal support of education is to ensure a

83. Ibid, 13.

84. Ibid, 6.

85. Ibid, 7.

86. Ibid, 7-8; See page 12 for a discussion of the Oil Embargo and the need to develop new sources of energy. See page 13 for a discussion of Japanese competition and the need to improve science and engineering education; 16.

87. Ibid, 22.

productive citizenry and an internationally competitive economy. Furthermore, access to education should not be limited, for

Extending educational opportunity to all Americans is not merely a democratic ideal, but a practical necessity for progress.⁸⁸

The purpose and value of education has been reduced to an economic input. Self-fulfillment, human and cultural understanding, knowledge for its own sake are all perceived as soft and frivolous to the task of keeping the nation militarily and economically mighty.⁸⁹ Education was attacked as a cost center, that is, a parasite on the budget, always taking money but never showing a profit. In response, an economic view of education was presented to show the cost-benefit of education and federally supported research. Appealing to an economic vision, *In the National Interest* is an economically reductionist report.

88. Ibid, 26.

89. The humanistic value of education, though, is addressed. "But the Federal Government should also realize that science and technology, to be used properly, must be tempered and shaped by the humanizing forces of our civilization . . ." 13. And "Human development should, for very practical purposes, be a primary goal of the Federal Government. Knowledge, skill and imagination alone hold the promise of solution for national vexing problems . . ." 15.

*Tomorrow's Teachers: A Report of the Holmes Group*⁹⁰

Named after Henry Holmes, Dean of Harvard's School of Education during the 1920s, the Holmes Group was a self-selected panel of education deans and chief academic officers from research universities. Henry Holmes desired to improve teacher preparation programs and that is the goal of the Holmes Group.

Teacher education programs have a long, uninterrupted tradition of reform efforts.⁹¹ Catalysts for the reform of teacher education have been increased federal spending on education, technology, labor market and labor pool contractions and expansions, and heightened public social consciousness.⁹² Whatever the catalyst, the resulting reform usually cries for increased rigor of academic subject preparation and suggests that the proper capstone of teacher preparation be the masters degree and not the bachelors degree.⁹³

Teacher education reform is higher education reform in that it looks to the institution that educates and credentials the school teacher. Teacher education

90. "Text of Education-School Deans' Report on Reforms in Teacher Training," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 9 April 1986, 27-37. The Holmes Group. *Tomorrow's Teachers*.

91. Ibid, 28. *The Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, s.v. "Teacher Education Programs."

92. *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, 1881, 1891.

93. *Tomorrow's*, 29. A Masters of Teaching was developed at Harvard as early as 1936 to stem the tide of mediocrity teachers' colleges allegedly perpetuated. *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, p. 1889.

reform reports are included for analysis because the two reports make it clear that teacher education needs to be wedded to college education.

Analysis

Tomorrow's Teachers is concerned with improving the education of children by improving their teachers. Five goals are set forth as steps to achieving raised teacher quality. The five goals are: increase intellectual rigor, create teaching career ladders, create entry standards, link schools and departments/colleges of education, and improve the teaching environment.⁹⁴ It is recommended that the bachelor's in education be abolished. This is because at the undergraduate level, education programs are shallow and perpetuate a non-education because so little time is spent on academic subjects. This criticism is recognized as old and unoriginal, for "Teacher education long has been intellectually weak."⁹⁵

Compounding the inferior education is that those teaching the teacher are awful teachers themselves.⁹⁶ There is nothing new with these criticisms and the proposed solutions, a fact not lost on the practitioners and scholars who responded to the

94. *Tomorrow's*, 27.

95. *Ibid*, 28.

96. *Ibid*, 29. High school teachers' lectures are described as "dreary" and these dreary lectures are explained by being the result of "the ways those teachers were taught in school, which seems to have been similarly dreary."

publication.⁹⁷ Possibly the only glimmer of originality in *Tomorrow's Teachers* is the absence of discussion regarding the United States as an anti-intellectual nation that does not value teaching, scholarship and the life of the mind.⁹⁸ Rather, full blame is placed on the economics of teaching as creating a mediocre profession. The history of teaching is presented as a profession where the "bright and energetic" passed through on their way to other white collar jobs or to educational administration.⁹⁹ There is subtle recognition that the "bright and energetic" passing through were white males because teaching "accommodated talented short-timers as well as those educated minorities and single women with few other choices for employment."¹⁰⁰ Increased opportunity for well educated racial minorities and women decreased the teaching talent pool. The "generous subsidy of

97. William R. Johnson, "Empowering Practitioners: Holmes, Carnegie, and the Lessons of History," *History of Education Quarterly* 27 (Summer 1987): 221-240. "Upon close inspection, the Holmes Group recommendations are really not radical, new, or even imaginative." 225. Richard C. Wallace, Jr. "The Teacher Education Dialogue: Priming Participants for Reform." *Educational Record* 67 (Fall 1986): 12-17. Sees the report as a positive opportunity but not as an insightful observation of education. C. Peter Magrath, "The Great Teacher Education Talkathon." *Educational Record* 67 (Fall 1986): 6-11. Describes the report as narrow in scope and unoriginal in content. Jeanne Pietig, "Strengths and Weaknesses of the Holmes Group Report," *Education Digest* 52 (March 1987): 32-5. Beverly M. Gordon, "Implicit Assumptions of the Holmes and Carnegie Reports: A View from an African-American Perspective." *Journal of Negro Education* 57 (Spring 1988): 141-158. Alan R. Tom, *How Should Teachers Be Educated? An Assessment of Three Reform Reports* (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1987) Fastback #255.

98. Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Vintage, 1962), 311-314.

99. *Tomorrow*, 32.

100. *Ibid*, 32.

those whose options were limited by prejudice" is no longer as richly available so alternative career ladders need to be created.¹⁰¹ The Holmes Group calls for a three-tier structure which would allow for movement within teaching. Moving to educational administration would no longer be the only option for increased salary and prestige.

The Holmes Group addresses raising the standards as costly to individuals and institutions. The Group is astute in its observation that teaching in the elementary and secondary schools needs the same type of opportunity for promotion that is available at the university or college. It views the crisis of teacher preparation, recruitment and retention from an economic vantage point and beyond the salary issue. The statement that "The minimal expectations and meager investments that accompany a transient work force gradually became ingrained in the occupation's structure, pattern of preparation, status and self-image"¹⁰² is an economic interpretation of teacher education reform. Although not entirely economically reductionist in motivation, The Holmes Group does emphasize the economics of teacher recruitment, retention and preparation over other influences.

101. Ibid, 32.

102. Ibid, 32.

One-Third of a Nation. A Report of the Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life¹⁰³

The American Council on Education along with the Education Commission of the States established a committee to address the stalling of minority advancement in education. Former presidents Gerald R. Ford and Jimmy Carter were honorary co-chairs of this commission guaranteeing high visibility and media exposure. Release of the report was carried by the Associated Press and thus had coverage in most U.S. newspapers.¹⁰⁴

The premise of the report is that after the year 2000, minority groups will comprise one-third of the American population.¹⁰⁵ Neglect of the minority one-third is presented as having a disastrous economic and social effect on the

103. Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life, *One-Third of a Nation* (Alexandria, Va.: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 297 057, 1988).

104. Christopher Connell, Associated Press Education Writer covered the release of the report in May 1988. See also "Commitment to Minorities' Fading in U.S. Study Says," New York Times, 24 May 1988, sec. A, p.16, col. 5.

105. "Between 1985 and 2000, minority workers will make up one-third of the net additions to the U.S. labor force . . ." *One-Third of a Nation*, 3. This figure is taken from another blue ribbon report, *Workforce 2000*. On the same page a U.S. Bureau of the Census table is printed showing that one-third of the school age population will be minority. The demographic information regarding minority composition of the United States varies; for example, "The labor force is projected to be more racially and ethnically diverse in 2000 than it is presently. Due to comparatively rapid population increases, the growth rates among black workers (1.9 percent annually) and Hispanic workers might comprise 10.1 percent of the labor force in 2000, up from 7.4 percent in 1988." *Demographic Change and the Economy of the Nineties* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1991): 55. "The fraction of the work force composed of black and Hispanic workers is projected to rise from 18 percent in 1988 to nearly 22 percent in 2000 . . ." *Demographic Change*, 8. A disclaimer is given on page 54 in the same report regarding the accuracy of forecasts.

majority, so the public and private sector is challenged to improve opportunities for minority participation in a high quality of life. Seven strategies are presented, of which number one is that institutions of higher learning strengthen efforts to increase minority recruitment, retention and graduation.

Analysis

The title harkens back to Franklin D. Roosevelt's second inaugural address, "I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished."¹⁰⁶ This address is a model statement of government as an instrument for social responsibility and it uses a language of morality. Evoking the spirit of this address is not new.¹⁰⁷ Its deep ethical principles and expression of America as one and Americans as interconnected strikes a chord that many wish to keep resonant.¹⁰⁸ Although the Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life uses a title to evoke benevolence, morality and responsibility, its message is practical and

106. Franklin D. Roosevelt, *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*. Ed. Samuel I. Rosenman. Vol. 6, 1937, *The Constitution Prevails* (New York: Macmillan, 1941): 1-6.

107. President's Task Force on Manpower Conservation, *One-Third of a Nation: A Report on Young Men Found Unqualified for Military Service* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964). "A generation ago President Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke of seeing 'one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished.' Given that time the wealth of the United States has doubled, and then doubled again. Yet poverty persists." [iii]. Nicholas Lemann, "The Unfinished War," *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1989, 59.

108. The cited 1964 and 1988 reports are fundamentally about poverty as was FDR's 2nd inaugural address.

economic. The disproportionate suffering by minorities of unemployment, underemployment, inadequate and disrupted education, and other social, political and economic handicaps is presented as a possible threat to majority security.

If we allow these disparities to continue, the United States inevitably will suffer a compromised quality of life and a lower standard of living. Social conflict will intensify. Our ability to compete in world markets will decline, our domestic economy will falter, our national security will be endangered.¹⁰⁹

The morality of eradicating an underclass because it is the right course of action is not addressed. Rather, the majority middle and upper class must be protected from impending social conflict. National prosperity is fated to decline if this one third is not put to high paying work. Hence the rôle of higher education: increase access to higher education to minorities and increase minority aspiration to and opportunity for wealth to assure a contented populace.

Perhaps the title, *One Third of a Nation* is taken from the architect of Social Security because Social Security plays such a prominent role in the report's argument. Social security and an aging population is given as an urgent reason for increasing minority participation in higher education.

Inadequate minority education has far broader implications. Consider just one issue: social security. Early in the next century, when the members of America's baby boom generation begin to retire,

109. *One-Third of a Nation*, 8.

relatively fewer active workers will be called on to support far greater numbers of retirees . . . By the year 2030, there will be about 50 beneficiaries per 100 workers.[38] As indicated earlier, the work force of that time will include a much higher percentage of minority workers than does today's. Americans of every background, then, have a stake in the competence, employability, and earning power of those future minority workers if we hope to provide for the income support and health care needs of an aging population.¹¹⁰

In other words, educate minorities for entrance into high paying professions so they may be taxed for the Social Security coffer.

National prosperity and international economic competitiveness is explained as having a key interest in minority higher education as

The growing presence of minorities in the nations work force and the contributions they make will affect not only our domestic economy but also our international competitiveness. However, more than economic standing is in question; the credibility of democracy as a vehicle for advancing the hopes and dreams of millions of people in less developed nations depends on our performance.¹¹¹

If United States democracy will be scrutinized by "truth in advertising" standards, the existence of an American underclass populated by people of color may prove embarrassing globally. The absence of a language of shame and the fact

110. Ibid, 26.

111. Ibid, 28.

that the economic argument is raised before the moral and political argument is given suggests that the economic issue is the most important issue.

Throughout the report, the minority population is addressed as a separate population to be manipulated for economic purposes. In recognition of the "otherness " status bestowed upon minorities, the report assures "yet, minority citizens are not separate. They are, in a real sense the new America."¹¹² In the attempt to dissuade readers of a notion of minority "otherness" it is written,

They are not other; they are us. How well and under what condition minority groups are integrated into American life--and the extent to which they participate in and contribute to our educational system and the economy--will determine the continuing strength and vitality of the nation as a whole."¹¹³

This practical appeal maintains the separateness instead of fostering cohesiveness. In this report the individual is reduced to a worker who contributes to the national funds; the individual is either of the minority or the majority, and the minority is now presented as needing to contribute larger shares to national prosperity. In order to contribute these larger portions, opportunities for participation in a better life must be made available. One way to increase participation in the materially secure life is to provide for higher education.

112. Ibid, 16.

113. Ibid, 16.

The report ends on a note of togetherness by stating that it is a report for "three-thirds of a nation."¹¹⁴ But the appeal is for admitted "enlightened self-interest"¹¹⁵ of the special interest group writing the report.

Morality and the adherence to ethical principles appeals to the abstract and unmeasurables such as justice, equality and respect for the dignity and worth of humans as individuals. The moral and ethical does not need the practical and selfish to comprehend the correctness of action. That *One-Third of a Nation* is expressly practical in an economic sense means it is also economically reductionist. The individual is reduced to a laborer. Characteristics and needs outside of work are presented as secondarily important.

*America's Competitive Challenge*¹¹⁶

In 1982 President Ronald Reagan invited members of America's business and academic communities to formulate recommendations for strengthening America's position in the world marketplace. Japan's and Germany's emerging positions as superior producers of goods and services motivated the writing of this report. As a response, the Business-Higher Education Forum established a task force to address

114. Ibid, 40.

115. Ibid, 40.

116. Business-Higher Education Forum, *America's Competitive Challenge: The Need for a National Response* (Washington, D.C.: Business-Higher Education Forum, 1983).

American economic vitality and higher education's role in that vitality. The report's purpose is to participate in the dialogue of American economic renewal. The reforms and recommendations are by design economically motivated. Education is considered only as a tool for increasing economic strength and stability.

Analysis

The United States' economic problems are presented as being deep and profound and in need of more than short-term solutions.¹¹⁷ The problem is presented as multifaceted, with no one condition entirely to blame for the decline and no one sector singled out as the potential salvation.¹¹⁸ In this report higher education does not receive a blistering criticism. Its central recommendation is that

as a nation, we must develop a consensus that industrial competitiveness is crucial to our social and economic well-being. Such a consensus will require a shift in public attitudes about national priorities, as well as changes in public perceptions about the nature of our economic malaise.¹¹⁹

For higher education, the reforms suggested come in the areas of patents, basic research and training.¹²⁰ Higher education is targeted as one part of the

117. Ibid, vii, 1-2.

118. Ibid, 1. "Just as no single group or institution is responsible for the decline in America's capacity to compete, no single group can solve the problem alone."

119. Ibid, 2.

120. Ibid, 7-9.

solution to economic revitalization because it is seen as training the workforce. The citizen is clearly defined as a laborer and as a valuable economic commodity. To ensure that this valuable commodity is wisely utilized, "the United States needs a national strategy for educating, training and retraining at all levels."¹²¹ The specific recommendations for higher education's contributions to economic vitality are to develop a "single, coherent, comprehensive national displaced worker program"¹²² similar to the G.I. Bill in its structure and flexibility, provide tax incentives to stimulate investment in the education of citizens,¹²³ and increase the number of engineering faculty. More detailed attention is given to the curriculum and research topics for faculty. Education is not a process or reflective activity here; it is clearly part of the economic competitiveness agenda. Eight initiatives in teaching and research are given; they are specific and relate directly to the issues of economic competitiveness and range from trade barriers, and foreign management practices to foreign language.¹²⁴ Recommendations for administrative support to help with the economic agenda are resource sharing of equipment, greater

121. Ibid, 11. See also "American workers are the essential ingredient in the process of technological innovation and economic competitiveness . . . America is inadequately prepared to strengthen the capacity of the workforce . . ." 21.

122. Ibid, 11.

123. Ibid, 11-12.

124. Ibid, 13-14.

accommodation in scheduling for mid-career science and engineering students and providing salaries to engineering faculty competitive with the marketplace.¹²⁵ The financial support and sources to complement these recommendations is not addressed, but it is clearly stated that "separate wage scales independent of the campus-wide standard"¹²⁶ be instituted for the engineering faculty.

Unlike other reports where higher education is blamed for turning out ill-prepared students, this report chastises higher education for not being quick and responsive in preventing economic decline.

The nation's education and training institutions are responding too slowly to the central role they must play in revitalizing the American economy. Basic labor-market information is weak. Linkages between educators, training systems and employers are weak. Facilities and equipment are becoming obsolete. Well-trained faculty in key areas such as engineering are scarce. . . .¹²⁷

125. Ibid, 14. ". . . universities can revise certain general administrative practices to enhance the contribution of university research and teaching to industrial competitiveness. Some actions are: Alleviated equipment problems through such means as specialization by institution, shared facilities and arrangements with local industries. Adjust academic schedules to accommodate mid-career science and engineering students. Make engineering salaries more competitive with market salaries by establishing separate wage scales independent of the campus-wide standard."

126. Ibid, 14.

127. Ibid, 27.

Knowledge for knowledge's sake, liberating the mind, reflection and rational thought are not even considered as aspects of education. In fact, the teaching role of universities is criticized for neglecting the needs of the state.

Universities have been important sources of knowledge for centuries. But that knowledge has been organized primarily for pedagogical purposes, not to aid industrial or governmental decision-making.¹²⁸

Is pedagogy peripheral to education? Is the exploration of an argument or experiment to its logical end a trivial pursuit? Education as a social institution in this report has no intrinsic value. As set forth by the Business-Higher Education Forum, education's purpose is to produce highly skilled workers and conduct research to aid in making the United States superior in the world marketplace. This unconventional view of education does not go unnoticed by the Forum and they recognize that a more structured and active role by higher education in the economy would meet with possible disapproval:

these concerns [policies to use education for specific economic ends] have not been as consistently addressed by recent innovation reports as have other policy areas. This suggests that there is less consensus that education and manpower policies are appropriate tools for dealing with innovation and competitiveness problems. Nonetheless, recent reports have called for sustained federal support to the American education and

128. Ibid, 28. See Thorstein Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1918): 73 88-89.

manpower systems for the purpose of maintaining the U.S. competitive position in world trade.¹²⁹

America's Competitive Challenge is expressly economically reductionist.

Education has no humanistic, liberating, artistic or aesthetic purpose. Education in its most basic sense of teaching-learning, of organizing research to assist in the pedagogical process, is criticized as being out of step with the current economic demands. The panel was composed of educators and business leaders, so this unorthodox view of the educational purpose was not offered by just outsiders. There is no confusion of the educational purpose by this panel; it is clear that education's purpose, in the Business-Higher Education Forum belief system, is to fuel an economy.

*A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century*¹³⁰

In 1985 the Carnegie Corporation of New York established its Forum on Education and the Economy "to draw America's attention to the link between economic growth and the skills and abilities of the people who contribute to that growth, and to help develop education policies to meet the economic challenges ahead."¹³¹ The purpose of the report is to initiate reform of teacher education

129. *Competitive*, 36.

130. Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy. Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century* (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1986).

131. *Ibid*, iii.

programs. There are four stated purposes in producing this document: 1) to repeat the urgent warnings of American economic decline, 2) to affirm the role of education on the economy, 3) to reassert the importance of the teaching profession, and 4) to state the case that the time for reform is the present.¹³² Although the complete description of the second purpose includes traditional notions of equal opportunity and a shared vision, it is clear that education is viewed here as a tool for the economy. The expressed purpose of the report is evidenced by the name of the Forum, "Education and the Economy." Any intrinsic value education may have is superficially addressed, for the focus is unabashedly on reforming education to make America competitive in the world marketplace.

Analysis

Regaining economic competitiveness is the stated theme of the report. A connection between educational excellence and economic strength is established as a natural, logical supposition, one that politicians, business leaders and educators embraced and articulated.¹³³ The Task Force praises the efforts in the early 1980s

132. Ibid, 7. "Four purposes motivated the Task Force in producing this volume: (1) to remind Americans, yet again, of the economic challenges pressing us on all sides; (2) to assert the primacy of education as the foundation of economic growth, equal opportunity and a shared national vision; (3) to reaffirm that the teaching profession is the best hope for establishing new standards of excellence as the hallmark of American education; and (4) to point out that a remarkable window of opportunity lies before us in the next decade to reform education . . ."

133. Ibid, 2-3, 10, 14.

when economic and educational decline were noticed and reforms were initiated. Specific accomplishments singled out for praise are stiffer course requirements, higher teacher salaries, partnerships between schools, business and cultural institutions and new educational standards established by most states.¹³⁴

A changing global economy, notably the success of Japan in higher technology industry and the exportation of low skill work to exploit low wages in Pacific rim nations, is presented as the greatest challenge to American economic health.¹³⁵ If America wants to triumph over this challenge, it must change the national perception of the worker in the economy; that is, "high-wage level societies will be those whose economies are based on the use on a wide scale of very highly skilled workers, backed up by the most advanced technologies available."¹³⁶

Similar to the Business-Higher Education Forum, the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy does not call for education reform because the students are less capable than in the past and the educational system is in decline. The issue is not to return the system to a perceived Golden Age but to rebuild the

134. Ibid, 11.

135. Ibid, 11-13.

136. Ibid, 13.

system "to match the drastic change needed in our economy if we are to prepare our children for productive lives in the 21st century."¹³⁷

The report states that an educational system for citizens to live productive lives in a high technological marketplace is already available to an elite, but now is the time to share with the masses this form of education because

It is no exaggeration to suggest that America must now provide to many the same quality of education presently reserved for the fortunate few. The cost of not doing so will be a steady erosion in the American standard of living.¹³⁸

A paragraph follows this statement to soften its elitist and class conscious blows.

That if once a poorly educated mass was acceptable and expected for the performance of low skill, low wage work, this practice must be viewed as antithetical to democratic concepts of equal opportunity.¹³⁹ Even if the indicators did not point to a need of high quality education equipping the citizen to compete in a highly skilled workforce, the educational system needs to be rebuilt for the

equal opportunity for all our children and preservation
of an informed population capable of self-government --

137. Ibid, 14. Also, "Much of the rhetoric of the recent education reform movement has been couched in the language of decline, suggesting that standards have slipped, that the education system has grown lax and needs to return to some earlier performance standard to succeed. Our view is very different . . ." 14.

138. Ibid, 14.

139. "But even if by some economic miracle this country could remain competitive without rebuilding our education system, we must do so for other compelling reasons: equal opportunity . . ." 14.

a citizenry with a shared sense of democracy and a vision of our potential as a nation."¹⁴⁰

Unlike the reforms begun in reaction to Sputnik, where the gifted child or "democracy's aristocrat"¹⁴¹ was to be preserved and carefully developed for the nation's benefit, the Carnegie Commission takes an egalitarian view. All children are to be viewed as gifted because all are going to need to be highly skilled and productive to maintain a strong, competitive economy. "As the world economy changes shape, it would be fatal to assume that America can succeed if only a portion of our school children succeed."¹⁴²

The minority issue appears as a demographic issue. The issue is decidedly demographic and not moral. For example, the minority population is recognized as growing at the rate where by the year 2000, the United States population will be one-third minority.¹⁴³ This population must be educated to do productive work for their ranks as the unemployed or underemployed at the one-third proportion is

140. Ibid, 14.

141. Suzanne Hildenbrand, "Democracy's Aristocrat: The Gifted Child in America, 1910-1969" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1978). Studies the argument that the future leaders must be identified early and prepared for leadership roles.

142. *A Nation Prepared*, 14.

143. Ibid, 14.

too much of a strain.¹⁴⁴ Also the issue of an aging population and the need to fill the Social Security coffers emerges.¹⁴⁵ Even this sounds too crass for the Forum so the following is offered in the preceding argument's defense:

We stress the relationship between education and the economy to drive home the economic costs of inadequate education. But we reject the view that preparation for work should be the only, or even the most important, goal of education . . .¹⁴⁶

After this testimonial to traditional democratic views, the report continues with its economic convictions.

Comparison data are presented on scholastic achievement and attitudes toward education in industrial nations as evidence for the need to rebuild. In all cases America trails, and it is repeated that this must change because the citizen is the foundation of the economy.¹⁴⁷

The solution offered to rebuild the educational system is structured around teacher education reform. There are eight recommendations given that are

144. "By the year 2000, one out of every three Americans will be a member of a minority group. At present, one out of every four American children is born into poverty, and the rate is increasing while it was once possible for people to succeed in this society if they were simply willing to work hard, it is increasingly difficult for the poorly educated to find jobs . . . [also] the proportion of the population in the prime working years will decline steadily. . . This makes it imperative that all those who are able to work make the maximum contribution to the economic well-being of the whole population." 14.

145. Ibid, 14.

146. Ibid, 15, 21.

147. Ibid, 16-20. "Such people [well educated] will not only be the foundation of a thriving economy, they will be effective citizens. They are essential to our future." 20.

unoriginal in content. It is proposed that the baccalaureate in education be abolished, a Masters in teaching should be structured, minorities should be recruited into the teaching profession and a National Board for Professional Teaching Standards should be established.¹⁴⁸ Teachers' salaries are also discussed and in detail. A proposal for annual average teachers' salaries presents a grid of four levels in each of two district types and recommends a salary range of \$52,000-72,000 in the highest tier.¹⁴⁹

The Rochester, New York teacher union board voted 5-2 to implement the salary proposal in its system as an attempt to follow the recommendation for reform.¹⁵⁰ The salary structure has caused both rejuvenation and controversy in the Rochester public school system.¹⁵¹ Results of implementing this plan will take a long time to gather and be analyzed. It remains to be seen what specific effects this teacher education reform will have.

148. Ibid, 55, 73, 75.

149. Ibid, 100. See also 95-99.

150. "Big Raises Agreed on for Rochester Teachers," *New York Times*, 23 August 1987, sec 1, p. 43, col 1. "Rochester Putting Its Money on Teachers in School Reform," *Buffalo News*, 29 November 1987, A1, p. 14, col. 1.

151. Gene Geisert, "The New Union Juggernaut is Disguised as a Bandwagon," *Executive Educator* 11 (August 1989): 14-16. Thomas J. Donohue, "Rochester Raises Will Boost Teaching Quality," *Instructor* 97 (March 1988) : 12. Adam Urbaski, "The Rochester Contract: A Status Report," *Educational Leadership* 46 (November 1988): 48-52. Linda Tinelli Sheive, "New Roles for Administrators in Rochester," *Educational Leadership* 46 (November 1988): 53-55. Barbara Delatiner, "Upgrading Education in Local Public Schools," *Education Digest* 55 (September 1989): 28-30.

The name of the Forum presupposes its interest in economic well being.
Teacher education reform is presented as integral to American economic health.
The viewpoint of the report is economic, and although passing reference is paid to traditional democratic values, it is an economically reductionist report.

CHAPTER FOUR

TO PURSUE THE BLESSINGS OF PROSPERITY: ECONOMIC REDUCTIONISM AND HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM 1983-1988

Education reform movements are a fact of American life and the period of 1983-1988 was no exception. From the analyzed documents and the discussion of the period's reform literature it can be stated that higher education was criticized for lacking rigor, integrity and purpose. Most of the 1983-1988 higher education reform literature presented a discouraging American higher education landscape; colleges and universities were represented as being populated by under-prepared students who won't learn and research driven teachers who won't teach or do so begrudgingly.¹ Other documents criticized the university for not taking an active role in solving American economic difficulties.² Central to understanding this most recent reform movement is that the crisis it identified was not new and most of the offered solutions were unoriginal in concept. Placing higher education reform in a

1. William J. Bennett, *To Reclaim A Legacy* (Washington, D.C.: National Endowment for the Humanities, 1984). Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987). Ernest L. Boyer, *College: The Undergraduate Experience in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987). *Integrity in the College Curriculum* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges, 1985). *Involvement in Learning: Realizing the Potential of American Higher Education* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 246 833, October 1984).

2. Business-Higher Education Forum, *America's Competitive Challenge*, (Washington: D.C., 1983).

historical context showed that crises have brewed in higher education since the nation's conception. Higher education has always been scrutinized and criticized.

The history of American higher education reform movements has been well documented, and an overwhelming volume of information illustrates the similarity of the problems, proposed solutions and subsequent disappointment with the rate of improvement experienced after earlier reforms.³ Chapter One inspected these crusades and showed that change, although subtle, resulted in altering the curriculum, standards, admission policies and educational mission.⁴ Although cyclic in nature, variations occurred with each reform so that the reform cycle was repeated but with a different twist. For the 1980s the different twist was economic reductionism. Economic reductionism means that two complex social institutions, education and the economy, were simplified to a one-dimensional concept so that arguments for one, in this case a strong economy, were supported by the reform of the other, that is, higher education.

All of the reports under consideration in this study took a crisis stance and the response to the crisis fell into two categories. Appendix A delineates this

3. G. Max Wingo, *Philosophies of Education: An Introduction* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1974): 346-349.

4. The development and expansion of the American university gives the best example. John S. Brubacker and Willis Rudy. *Higher Education in Transition* 3rd rev (New York: Harper and Row, 1976. Laurence R. Veysey. *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

taxonomy of crisis. But what did the reports truly hope to be gained by following the proposals for reform? American economic competitiveness and triumph was a constant theme throughout each of the eight reports under consideration.

Unchallenged American superiority in the world marketplace was the hope of the reform documents. *America's Competitive Challenge*, *A Nation Prepared* and *In the National Interest* took a defensive role in embracing this philosophy by espousing economic input theory to show worthiness for federal funding. 'To *Secure the Blessings of Liberty*' and *One-Third of a Nation* used demographics to show potential economic decline through the diminishing of a white middle class and a growing racial minority underclass. The solution: educate the minority population so they can contribute to, rather than drain, the federal budget. Less oriented by economic principles and concerns but still shaped by economic thought are *Involvement in Learning*, *Integrity in the College Curriculum* and *Tomorrow's Teachers*. All of these reports make introductory remarks on the contribution of education to the economy. Each report opens with a stated association between education, wealth and economic progress to the degree that education is nearly synonymous with prosperity.

Is this economic vision new to higher education philosophy and policy? Not entirely, for Thorstein Veblen, Abraham Flexner and Robert Hutchins all noted the

crass materialism inherent to the American brand of higher learning.⁵ But their observations were offered as criticisms and not as policy statements to accelerate any benefit forthcoming from education to the nation's economy. In the times of Veblen, Flexner and Hutchins, it may have been too embarrassing for policy makers to express so blatantly the reduction of education to materialism as a virtue, although all three authors state that such a manipulation was occurring.⁶

Historian Henry Steele Commager remarks that

The American's attitude toward culture was at once suspicious and indulgent . . . For the most part, he required that culture serve some useful purpose . . . Education was his religion, and to it he paid the tribute both of his money and his affection; yet as he expected his religion to be practical and pay dividends, he expected education to prepare for life--by which he meant, increasingly, jobs and professions.⁷

5. Thorstein Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1918). Abraham Flexner, *Universities, American, English, German* (New York: Oxford, 1930). Robert M. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1936).

6. "The final discretion in the affairs of the seats of learning is entrusted to men who have proved their capacity for work that has nothing in common with the higher learning." And "pecuniary standards of excellence are habitually accepted and applied with undue freedom and finality." Veblen, 69, 73. "[Universities] . . . should have an educational policy and then try to finance it, instead of letting financial accidents determine their academic policy." Hutchins also criticized the confusion in higher education's purpose with America's unabashed love of money, Hutchins, 5, 29.

7. Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950):
 10. See David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986) for a discussion of higher education as an institution of social and economic mobility.

The idea that education is an investment with the expectation of great dividends is pervasive and well rooted in American thought. But the reform documents of 1983-1988 showed an articulation of this belief that included policy directives to ensure economic prosperity. As Commager stated nearly a half-century ago in writing of the 19th Century American, preparation for life increasingly meant preparation for work; with the 1980s reports, the impulsion to believe that education's purpose is to train citizens for work and contribute to national economic growth and superiority is now complete. Education is presented as a social institution integral to the strength of the economy. In this belief system, education does not exist as a social institution of itself but, rather, exists to serve the valued, superior need of a healthy economy. By being integral and not equal to the economy, education becomes subordinate to the economy. Although traditional notions of individual self-fulfillment, civic duty and full participation in American life are addressed in some of the documents, these ideals are presented as an after-thought.⁸ Education for a strong economy is the priority, thereby reducing education to largely an economic input value. The significance of noting this is that the tradition of individual self-fulfillment extending beyond the work sphere is being usurped by a new ideal where the citizen is not central to the story but the economy

8. *One-Third of a Nation* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1988). These ideals are expressed and then termed "enlightened self-interest."

is. Although the traditional viewpoint of education has long been under attack as antithetical to the reality,⁹ the point addressed here is that the traditional viewpoint is being eradicated in policy statements; so if there is hypocrisy regarding the individual, the state and education, we soon will no longer have the noble myth to temper written policy. Economic reductionism simplifies the individual into a passive instrument to be manipulated for state gain. In the documents under consideration, the economy, not the individual, was the focus. Is education to liberate or enslave? A philosophy that espouses human worth as measured by the Gross National Product is a philosophy of enslavement. Repeatedly the documents stressed education for individual contribution to national economic interests. The citizen was defined as worker. Such a definition is one-dimensional, reductionist and dehumanizing.

Belief systems are the results of thinking and communicating the results of that thinking. A particular belief system may be developed at differing levels of abstraction, precision and generality.¹⁰ In its development, assumptions, theories, definitions and organization all play a role.¹¹ A belief system provides order and

9. Ira Katznelson and Margaret Weir, *Schooling for all: Class, Race, and the Decline of the Democratic Ideal* (New York: Basic Books, 1985). Ira Shor, *Culture Wars: School and Society in the Conservative Restoration, 1969-1984* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986). Michael B. Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968).

10. Keith Dixon, *The Sociology of Belief: Fallacy and Foundation* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980).

11. Ibid, p. 1.

explanation to chaos and helps to give a feeling of control over that chaos. To believe that education's purpose is to fuel the economy and to subsume education wholly to economic values is to reject educational values such as curiosity, discovering and knowing. *In the National Interest* begins its argument by shunning the notion of benevolence in the hope of persuading interest in the practical, financial value of education rather than in the humanistic, unquantifiable principles of morality and benevolence.¹²

Criticism of reducing education to an economic input has received attention from both sides of the political spectrum and not just recently. The conservative economists James M. Buchanan and Nicos E. Devletoglou wrote in 1970,

Education is not like apples, automobiles, parks or policemen. Higher education in particular is a time-consuming, resource-using experience through which young persons pass . . . Individuals are supposed to be 'better' citizens with education than without it. Nevertheless, it is almost impossible to quantify or to objectify the characteristics of the educated person . . . economists have devoted a great deal of their attention in recent years to a capital investment approach to university-college training . . . Increased incomes are earned by the man whose capacities are so changed as to be able to earn them, and not by others in the community. The capital investment approach provides,

12. *In the National Interest* (Washington, D.C.: NASULGC, 1983-84): 5. "The recent philosophical debate over what, if any, federal role in higher education is appropriate obscures the historical fact that Washington has played a fundamental role in building the American system of higher education, and that it has done this not merely out of benevolence toward the enterprise, but in direct service to national goals and priorities."

therefore, small basis upon which to argue in defense of massive governmental financial support . . .¹³

Former Harvard University president and political liberal Derek Bok warned in his farewell address that the profit motive is eroding the foundational values of the university.¹⁴ In his "Lessons" column, Edward B. Fiske of the *New York Times* perceptively points out the danger in embracing education as a purely economic value.¹⁵

An economic vision of education distorts the value of education as an institution concerned with knowing and discovering. The insistence to quantify its value also presumes a loss of faith. Faith in education as a process of teaching, learning and discovering would not need justification for its survival, prestige or importance.

The blue-ribbon commissions of the 1980s recommended policies to realize the goal of educational excellence for economic strength; it can only be assumed that the energy and time spent on the formulation of this goal was that it is achievable and efforts will be expended to reach the goal. Evidence exists to show

13. James M. Buchanan and Nicos E. Devletoglou, *Academia in Anarchy: An Economic Diagnosis* (New York: Basic Books, 1970): 68-70.

14. "Quest for Profits May Damage Basic Values of Universities, Harvard's Bok Warns," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 24, 1991, A1, A31.

15. Edward B. Fiske, "Education as Investment: Creating a Buzzword," *New York Times*, 10 May 1989, II, p. 8, col. 1.

that the recommendations of the commissions were followed, either in part or in whole.¹⁶ How then can the reform be criticized for its economic reductionism?

If there are only two choices for criticizing actions and policies, that is, that the goals are infelicitous or the achievement of the goals is objectionable,¹⁷ then the criticism of the economic reductionist reform is that its goals are objectionable. The design of higher education within an economically reductionist framework would be a curriculum of expediency. *America's Competitive Challenge* offers the best example of expediency with its course suggestions for students and research topics for faculty all for the benefit of a strong, powerful national economy.¹⁸ Within this expediency academic freedom is ignored. Creativity, serendipity and discovery are not even recognized as elements in the research/education process; pedagogy is flatly devalued in this report because economic reductionism and expediency are so strong.¹⁹ The university as a place of learning is unrecognizable in the economic reductionist vision. In this view the mission of higher education

16. "Rochester Putting Its Money on Teachers in School Reform," *Buffalo News*, 29 November 1987, A1, p. 14, col. 1. Iowa State University. Faculty Council. Academic Affairs, Committee Report: 1985-1986. Unpublished report. May 1986.

17. *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan and Free Press, 1967), s.v. "Epistemology and Ethics, Parallel Between": 6.

18. *America's Competitive Challenge* (Washington, D.C.: Business-Higher Education Forum, 1983): 13-14.

19. *Ibid*, 27-28.

becomes one of business. The danger of such a view is that what is good for General Motors may not be good for the university or for the country.

Access to higher education under this philosophy is more difficult to analyze. Although the attention given to demographic changes in the United States and the awareness of the need to provide equal educational opportunity to all²⁰ provide hope, the disclosure of real class and race differences in the provision of quality education²¹ and the reality of limited financial support available to pay for the access diminishes the potential for true increased access. The most disturbing aspect to the access issue is that in its expression, there is a lack of moral imperative, ownership of national shame and disgrace, and a view that describes the individual not as a person of dreams, hopes and needs but as an instrument used to input wealth into the Social Security and military coffers. It is a viewpoint that both detaches and dehumanizes. How can commitment and allegiance flourish if the individual is defined solely as a worker contributing to a national bank? In several of the analyzed reports, the definition of the individual was detached, unconnected and often given from a viewpoint of "otherness." There was also the sense of individuals as passive. The language chosen did not evoke images of the individual

20. *One-Third of A Nation. 'To Secure the Blessings of Liberty.' A Nation Prepared.*

21. *A Nation Prepared*, 14. "As the world economy changes shape, it would be fatal to assume that America can succeed if only a portion of our school children succeed." Sidebar quotes from other documents highlight the undesirability and impracticality of having a low skilled underclass in a high skilled society.

as active, thinking and free, but rather as a pliable commodity for special interest group manipulation.²²

Sponsored studies, blue ribbon commission reports and position papers are often dismissed as nuisances that regularly appear to collect dust on the bookshelves of bureaucrats.²³ The reality is that powerful, influential people write these reports. The reports in turn are disseminated and debated in both scholarly and popular media. Subtly the ideas, assumptions, definitions and beliefs become woven into the national consciousness.

From the analysis of the eight documents and the research questions posed, it appears that the higher education reform movement of 1983 to 1988 was economically reductionist. Economic motives dominated traditional, Jeffersonian motives of education and placed the economic interests of the nation before civic and individual interests. There is an emphasis on the citizen as worker in the documents. Financial terms such as capital, investment, dividend are used to describe education and the citizen. In the reports there is an assumed and stated belief in the relationship between a highly educated work force and a productive economy.

22. *One-Third of a Nation*, 40.

23. Terrell H. Bell, *Thirteenth Man: A Reagan Cabinet Memoir* (New York: Free Press, 1988): 115. James Allen Smith, *The Idea Brokers: Think Tanks and the Rise of the New Policy Elite* (New York: Free Press, 1991): xi-xii.

The higher education reform documents of 1983 to 1988 have as their goal the pursuit of prosperity. The goals articulated are devoid of moral, humanistic and intellectual values. Economic reductionism characterizes the reform, and this period could become a demarcation in the intellectual history of American thought, the time when universities turned from education as a knowledge institution to education as an economic institution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbott, Lawrence F. "What is the Matter with Our Colleges?" *Outlook* 135 (September 5, 1923): 12-14.
- Adams, John. *The Works of John Adams*. Reprint. Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1969. Vol. 4.
- Adams, John Ring. *Secrets of the Tax Revolt*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984.
- Adler, Mortimer J. *How to Read a Book: The Art of Getting a Liberal Education*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940.
- Al-Rubaiy, A. *American Education Under Fire: An Exploration of Selected Major Contemporary Reports*. (Alexandria, Va.: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 332 280, 1990).
- "Allan Bloom and 'The Closing of the American Mind': Conclusions Too Neat, Too Clean, and Too Elite." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 34 (September 16, 1987): B2.
- Arrowood, Charles Finn, ed. *Thomas Jefferson and Education in a Republic*. New York: McGraw Hill, 1930.
- Bernard, F.A.P. "On Improvements Practicable in American Colleges." *American Journal of Education* 1 (January 1856): 174-185.
- Barnett, Marguerite Ross, Charles C. Harrington and Philip V. White, eds. *Education Policy in an Era of Conservative Reform*. New York: AMS Press, 1986.
- Barzun, Jacques and Henry F. Graff. *The Modern Researcher*. 4th ed. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985.
- Beard, Charles A. *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. New York: Macmillan, 1935.

- Bell, Daniel. *The Reforming of General Education: The Columbia College Experience in its National Setting*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.
- Bell, Terrel H. *Thirteenth Man: A Reagan Cabinet Memoir*. New York: Free Press, 1988.
- Bellah, Robert N. and Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, Steven M. Tipton. *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Bennett, C. and A. M. Okinaka. "Factors Related to Persistence among Asian, Black, Hispanic, and White Undergraduates at a Predominantly White University: Comparison Between First and Fourth Year Cohorts." *Urban Review* 22 (March 1990): 33-60.
- Bennett, William J. *To Reclaim a Legacy: A Report on the Humanities in Higher Education*. Washington, D.C.: National Endowment for the Humanities, 1984.
- Berger, Ira M. "The Death of a College: A Faculty Reminiscence of Eisenhower College." *Liberal Education* 70 (Winter 1984): 401-408.
- "Best Selling Book Makes the Collegiate Curriculum a Burning Public Issue." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 34 (September 16, 1987): A1, A22.
- "Big Raises Agreed on for Rochester Teachers." *New York Times* (August 23, 1987): Sec. 1, p. 43, Col. 1.
- Blackie, John Stuart. "On a Radical Reform in the Method of Teaching the Classical Languages." *Contemporary Review* 34 (March 1879): 795-802.
- Bloom, Allan. *The Closing of the American Mind*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987.
- Boyer, Carol M. *Five Reports: Summary of the Recommendations of Recent Commission Reports on Improving Undergraduate Education*. (Alexandria, Va.: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 305 851, 1985).

- Boyer, Ernest L. *College: The Undergraduate Experience in America*. New York: Harper and Row, 1987.
- Brameld, Theodore. *Education for the Emerging Age: Newer Ends and Stronger Means*. New York: Harper and Row, 1965.
- Brameld, Theodore. *Patterns of Educational Philosophy: A Democratic Interpretation*. Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1950.
- Brameld, Theodore. *Philosophies of Education in Cultural Perspective*. New York: Dryden Press, 1955.
- Brann, Eva T. H. *Paradoxes of Education in a Republic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
- Brubacher, John S. *The University: Its Identity Crisis*. New Britain: Central Connecticut State College, 1972.
- Brubacher, John S. and Willis Rudy. *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1976*. New York: Harper and Row, 1976, 3rd rev. ed.
- Buchanan, James M. and Nicos E. Devletoglou. *Academia in Anarchy: An Economic Diagnosis*. New York: Basic Books, 1970.
- Business-Higher Education Forum. *America's Competitive Challenge: The Need for a National Response*. Washington, D.C.: Business-Higher Education Forum, 1983.
- Calvert, Monte A. *The Mechanical Engineer in America, 1830-1910: Professional Cultures in Conflict*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1967.
- Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, Task Force on Teaching as a Profession. *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century*. New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1986.
- "Carnegie panel asserts rebuilding of education system is needed to preserve U.S. living standard." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 32 (May 21, 1986): 1.

CIS US Congressional Committee Hearings Index. Bethesda, Maryland: Congressional Information Service, 1983.

"Classical Learning." *North American Review* 23 (July 1826): 142-150.

"College Education Review of the Substance of Two Reports of the Faculty of Amherst College to the Board of Trustees, with the Doings of the Board there on Amherst 1827." *North American Review* 28 (April 1829): 294-311.

Commager, Henry Steele. *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880s*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950.

Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life. *One-Third of a Nation*. Alexandria, Va.: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, 1988. ED 297 057.

"Commitment to Minorities Fading in U.S., Study Says." *New York Times* (May 24, 1988): Sec. A, p. 16, col. 5.

Conant, James B. *The Education of American Teachers*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

"Conservative Scholars Call for a Movement to 'Reclaim' Academy." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 35 (November 23, 1988): A1, A11.

Delatiner, Barbara. "Upgrading Education in Local Public Schools." *Education Digest* 55 (September 1989): 28-30.

Demographic Change and the Economy of the Nineties: Report Prepared for the Subcommittee on Technology and National Security of the Joint Economic Committee. United States. Congressional Research Service. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1991.

Dewey, John. *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*. New York: Macmillan, 1916.

Dictionary of Sociology. Henry Pratt Fairchild, ed. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970. s.v. "Economic determinism."

- Digest of Education Statistics, 1989.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Education Statistics, 1989.
- Dixon, Keith. *The Sociology of Belief: Fallacy and Foundation.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980.
- Donohue, Thomas J. "Rochester Raises Will Boost Teaching Quality." *Instructor* 97 (March 1988): 12.
- D'Sonza, Dinesh. "Illiberal Education." *Atlantic Monthly* (March 1991): 51-8, 62-79.
- DuBois, W.E.B. "Education and Work." *Journal of Negro Education* 1 (April 1932): 60-74.
- DuBois, W.E.B. *W. E. B. DuBois: A Reader.* Edited by Meyer Weinberg. New York: Harper and Row, 1970.
- "E. D. Hirsch's 'Cultural Literacy': A Cocktail Party View of Higher Education." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 34 (September 16, 1987): B2.
- Elam, Stanley M. and Alec M. Gallup. "The 21st Annual Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitude Toward the Public Schools." *Gallup Report* 288 (September 1989): 31-43.
- Eliot, Charles W. *Educational Reform.* New York: Century, 1909.
- Elliott, Edward C. and M. M. Chambers. *Charters and Basic Laws of Selected American Universities and Colleges.* New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1934.
- Elliott, Edward C. and M. M. Chambers. *The Colleges and the Courts.* New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1936.
- The Encyclopedia of Educational Research.* New York: Free Press, 1982.
- Encyclopedia of Philosophy.* New York: Macmillan and Free Press, 1967.

- Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. New York: Macmillan, 1930-1935.
- Fiske, Edward B. "Education as Investment: Creating a Buzz Word." *New York Times* (May 10, 1989): II, p. 8, col. 1.
- Fleming, James S. "The Eisenhower College Silver Dollar Legislation: A Case of Politics and Higher Education." *Journal of Higher Education* 57 (November/December 1986): 569-605.
- Flexner, Abraham. *The American College*. New York: Century, 1908.
- Flexner, Abraham. *I Remember*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940.
- Flexner, Abraham. *Universities: American, English, German*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1930.
- Geisert, Gene. "The New Union Juggernaut is Disguised as a Bandwagon." *Executive Educator* 11 (August 1989): 14-16.
- Gideonse, Harry D. *The Higher Learning in a Democracy*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937.
- Gilman, Daniel Cort. "Education in America, 1776-1876." *North American Review* 122 (January 1876): 191-228.
- Good, Carter V., ed. *Dictionary of Education*. 3rd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973.
- Goodman, S. E., ed. *Handbook on Contemporary Education*. New York: Bowker, 1976.
- Gordon, Beverly M. "Implicit Assumptions of the Holmes and Carnegie Reports: A View from an African-American Perspective." *Journal of Negro Education* 57 (Spring 1988): 141-158.
- Greeley, Andrew M. *From Backwater to Mainstream: A Profile of Catholic Higher Education*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969.

- Hacker, Andrew. "The Decline of Higher Learning." *New York Review of Books* 33 (February 13, 1986): 35-42.
- Hamilton, Malcolm B. "The Elements of the Concept of Ideology." *Political Studies* 35 (March 1987): 18-38.
- Hansen, Allen Oscar. *Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Macmillan, 1926.
- Harris, Michael R. *Five Counterrevolutionists in Higher Education*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1970.
- Harvard University. Committee on the Objectives of a General Education in a Free Society. *General Education in a Free Society*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1945.
- Hildenbrand, Suzanne. "Democracy's Aristocrat: The Gifted Child in America, 1910-1960." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1978.
- Hirsch, E. D., Jr. *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987.
- Hofstadter, Richard. *Anti-intellectualism in American Life*. New York: Vintage Books, 1963.
- Hofstadter, Richard and C. DeWitt Hardy. *The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press, for the Commission on Financing Higher Education, 1952.
- Hofstadter, Richard and Wilson Smith, eds. *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*. 2 vol. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Holden, Reuben A. *Profiles and Portraits of Yale University Presidents*. Freeport, Maine: Bond Wheelwright Co., 1968.
- Holmes, Dwight O. W. *Evolution of the Negro College*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University Press, 1934.

"How Americans View Higher Education." *On Campus* 11 (December 1991/January 1992): 2.

Hunt, E. K. and Jesse G. Schwartz, eds. *A Critique of Economic Theory: Selected Readings*. Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1972): 13.

Hutchins, Robert M. *The Conflict in Education*. Ames Iowa: Iowa State University, Lectures Series, 1970. Sound cassette.

Hutchins, Robert M. *The Higher Learning in America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936.

Hutchins, Robert M. *Some Observations on American Education*. Cambridge, Eng.: University Press, 1956.

Hyman, Harold M. *American Singularity: The 1787 Northwest Ordinance, the 1862 Homestead and Morrill Acts, and the 1944 G.I. Bill*. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1986.

"The Ivory Battleground." *Wilson Quarterly* 15 (Winter 1991): 120-1.

Iowa State University, Faculty Council. Academic Affairs, Committee Report: 1985-1986. Unpublished report. May 1986.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954. Vol. 9.

Jefferson, Thomas. *The Portable Thomas Jefferson*. Ed. Merrill D. Peterson. New York: Viking, 1975.

Johnson, Charles S. *The Negro College Graduate*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938.

Johnson, Janet R. and Laurence R. Marcus. *Blue Ribbon Commissions and Higher Education: Changing Academe from the Outside*. ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report No. 2. Washington, D.C.: Association for the Study of Higher Education, 1986.

- Johnson, William R. "Empowering Practitioners: Holmes, Carnegie, and the Lessons of History." *History of Education Quarterly* 27 (Summer 1987): 221-240.
- Kaplin, William A. *The Law of Higher Education: Legal Implications of Administrative Decision Making*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1978.
- Katz, Michael B. *The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-nineteenth Century Massachusetts*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Katznelson, Ira and Margaret Weir. *Schooling for All: Class, Race, and the Decline of the Democratic Ideal*. New York: Basic Books, 1985.
- "Kids and jobs: good or bad?" *Newsweek* 107 (June 9, 1986): 54.
- King, Lauriston R. *The Washington Lobbyists for Higher Education*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1975.
- Koepplin, Leslie W. and David A. Wilson, eds. *The Future of State Universities: Issues in Teaching, Research, and Public Service*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1985.
- Kohler, John H., III. Review of *The Troubled Crusade: American Education, 1945-1980* by Diane Ravitch. *Educational Studies* 16 (Spring 1985): 32-39.
- Lambert, Richard D., with Elinor G. Barber, Eleanor Jorden, Margaret B. Merrill, Leon I. Twarog. *Beyond Growth: The Next Stage in Language and Area Studies*. Washington, D.C.: Association of American Universities, 1984.
- Lemann, Nicholas. "The Unfinished War." *Atlantic Monthly* (January 1989): 53-68.
- Leonard, George. "The End of School." *Atlantic Monthly* (May 1992): 24-28, 32.

- Leslie, Larry L. and Paul T. Brinkman. *The Economic Value of Higher Education*. New York: Macmillan for the American Council on Education, 1988.
- Levine, Arthur. "No golden age of higher education has been lost, because none ever existed." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 34 (February 3, 1988): B2.
- Levine, David O. *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Lewis, Anne C. "Son of Risk." *Phi Delta Kappan* 69 (June 1988): 708-11.
- Magrath, C. Peter. "The Great Teacher Education Talkathon." *Educational Record* 67 (Fall 1986): 6-11.
- McCartan, Anne-Marie. "Students Who Work." *Change* 20 (September/October 1988): 10-13, 15-20.
- National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges. *In the National Interest: Higher Education and the Federal Government: the Essential Partnership*. Washington, D.C.: NASULGC, 1983-1984.
- National Commission on Excellence in Education. *A Nation at Risk*. Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983.
- Nelson, Caleb. "Harvard's Hollow 'Core.'" *Atlantic Monthly* (September 1990): 70-80.
- "New Core Curriculum, Stiffer Requirements Approved at Harvard." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 16 (May 8, 1978): 12.
- Newcomer, Mabel, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women*. New York: Harper and Row, 1959.
- National Research Council. Committee on a Study of the Federal Role in College Science Education of Non-Specialists. *Science for Non-Specialists: The College Years*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1982.

- Peck, Harry Thurston. "Eleven Books of the Month," *The Bookman* 28 (February 1909): 592.
- Perkinson, Henry J. *Two Hundred Years of American Educational Thought*. New York: David McKay, 1976.
- Peterson, Paul E. "Did the Education Commissions Say Anything?" *The Brookings Review* 2 (Winter 1983): 3-11.
- Pietig, Jeanne. "Strengths and Weaknesses of the Holmes Group Report." *Education Digest* 52 (March 1987): 32-5.
- Popkewitz, Thomas S. *A Political Sociology of Educational Reform: Power/Knowledge in Teaching, Teacher Education, and Research*. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1991.
- President's Task Force on Manpower Conservation. *One-Third of a Nation: A Report on Young Men Found Unqualified for Military Service*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964.
- Post, D. "College-going decisions by Chicanos: The Politics of Misinformation." *Educational Evaluation & Policy Analysis* 12 (Summer 1990): 174-87.
- Project on Redefining the Meaning and Purpose of Baccalaureate Degrees. *Integrity in the College Curriculum: A Report to the Academic Community*. Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges, 1985.
- "Quest for Profits May Damage Basic Values of Universities, Harvard's Bok Warns." *Chronicle of Higher Education* (April 24, 1991): A1, A31.
- Ravitch, Diane. *The Schools We Deserve, Reflections on the Educational Crises of Our Times*. New York: Basic Books, 1985.
- Rearden, T. H. "Some Faults and Failings in American Education." *Overland Monthly* 1 (July 1868): 311-316.
- Reed, Sampson. "Observations on 'The Growth of the Mind.'" *North American Review* 24 (January 1827): 56-68.

Rensberger, Boyce. "Science Foundation's Study on Shortages Proved Very Unscientific." *Buffalo News* (April 9, 1992): A3.

"Reviews." *Educational Review* 36 (December 1908): 513.

Reznek, Samuel. *Education for a Technological Society: A Sesquicentennial History of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute*. Troy, N.Y.: Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1968.

Rifkin, Jeremy. *Time Wars: The Primary Conflict in Human History*. New York: Holt, 1987.

Riesman, David, Reuel Denney and Nathan Glazer. *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950.

Robson, David W. *Educating Republicans: The College in the Era of the American Revolution, 1750-1800*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985.

"Rochester Putting Its Money on Teachers in School Reform." *Buffalo News* (November 29, 1987): A1, p. 14, col. 1.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund. *The Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958.

Roos, Leonard V. "The Trend of Reorganization in Higher Education." *School Review* 32 (September 1924): 575-586.

Roos, Leonard V. "The Trend of Reorganization in Higher Education." *School Review* 32 (November 1924): 656-666.

Roosevelt, Franklin D. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*. Ed. Samuel I. Rosenman. New York: Macmillan, 1941. Vol. 6.

Rudolph, Frederick. *The American College and University: A History*. New York: Knopf, 1962.

- Rudolph, Frederick. *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977.
- Rudolph, Frederick, ed. *Essays on Education in the Early Republic*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965.
- Russell, Bertrand. *A History of Western Philosophy*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972.
- Russo, Francis X. "Educational Wastelands Revisited." *Choice* 25 (July/August 1988): 1659-1669.
- Scheler, Max. Trans. Manfred S. Frings. *Problems of a Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Kegan Paul, 1980).
- Schmidt, George P. *The Liberal Arts College: A Chapter in American Cultural History*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957.
- Schwadron, Terry, ed. *California and the American Tax Revolt: Proposition 13 Five Years Later*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
- Scully, Malcolm G. "Study Finds Colleges Torn by Divisions, Confused Over Roles." *Chronicle of Higher Education* (November 5, 1986): 1, 16.
- Searle, John R. "The Storm over the University: A Further Exchange." *New York Review of Books* (May 16, 1991): 62-3.
- Sharpless, Isaac. *The American College*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1915.
- Sheive, Linda Tinelli. "New Roles for Administrators in Rochester." *Educational Leadership* 46 (November 1988): 53-55.
- Shor, Ira. *Culture Wars: School and Society in the Conservative Restoration, 1969-1984*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986.
- Silva, Edward T. and Sheila A. Slaughter. *Serving Power: The Making of the Academic Social Science Expert*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984.

Smith, James A. *The Idea Brokers: Think Tanks and the Rise of the New Policy Elite*. New York: Free Press, 1991.

"Stanford freshmen to study works by women, blacks; no reading list set."
Chronicle of Higher Education (April 13, 1988): A19.

Study Group on the Conditions of Excellence in American Higher Education.
Involvement in Learning: Realizing the Potential of American Higher Education. Alexandria, Va.: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, 1984. ED 246 833.

Study Group on the Conditions of Excellence in American Higher Education.
The Progress of an Agenda: A First Report from the Study Group on the Conditions of Excellence in American Higher Education. Alexandria, Va.: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, 1984. ED 244 577.

Tewksbury, Donald. *Founding of Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University Press, 1932.

"Text of Education - School Deans' Report on Reforms in Teacher Training."
Chronicle of Higher Education (April 9, 1986): 27-37.

Thwing, Charles F. "Educational Problems of the Twentieth Century." *Forum* 28 (September 1899 - February 1900): 315-24.

Thwing, Charles F. *History of Higher Education in America*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1906.

Tinker, Anthony. "Theories of the State and the State of Accounting: Economic Reductionism and Political Voluntarism in Accounting Regulation Theory." *Journal of Accounting and Public Policy* 3 (Spring 1984): 55-74.

"'To Secure the Blessings of Liberty': Text of Report on State Colleges' Role."
Chronicle of Higher Education (November 12, 1986): 29-36.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*. New York: Knopf, 1966.

- Tocqueville, Alexis de. *The Republic of the United States of America, and its Political Institutions, Reviewed and Examined*. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1897.
- Tom, Alan R. *How Should Teachers Be Educated? An Assessment of Three Reform Reports*. Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa, 1987.
- Tribe, Laurence H. "Ways Not to Think about Plastic Trees: New Foundations for Environmental Law." *Yale Law Journal* 83 (June 1974): 1315-1348.
- United States. Department of Education. *The Nation Responds: Recent Efforts to Improve Education* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1984).
- U.S. Office of Education. *Circulars of Information*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1870-1903.
- U.S. Office of Education. *Statistical Circular*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923-29.
- U.S. President's Commission on Higher Education. *Higher Education for American Democracy: A Report*. New York: Harper & Row, 1948.
- U.S. The President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School. *First Interim Report to the President*. Washington, D.C., 1956.
- "Universities." *North American Review* 27 (July 1828): 67-89.
- Urbaski, Adam. "The Rochester Contract: A Status Report." *Educational Leadership* 46 (November 1988): 48-52.
- Van Doren, Mark. *Liberal Education*. New York: Henry Holt, 1943.
- Veblen, Thorstein. *The Higher Learning in America*. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1918.
- Veysey, Laurence R. *The Emergence of the American University*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

- Wallace, Richard C., Jr. "The Teacher Education Dialogue: Priming Participants for Reform." *Educational Record* 67 (Fall 1986): 12-17.
- Washington, Booker T. *The Booker T. Washington Papers*. Edited by Louis R. Harlan. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.
- Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language. Unabridged*. Springfield, Mass.: Merriam-Webster, 1986.
- Welter, Rush. *Popular Education and Democratic Thought in America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1962.
- White, Jane N. and Collins W. Burnett, eds. *Higher Education Literature: An Annotated Bibliography*. Phoenix, Ariz.: Oryx Press, 1981.
- Whyte, William H. *The Organization Man*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956.
- Wilson, J. Q. "Harvard's Core Curriculum: A View from the Inside." *Change* 10 (November 1978): 40-3.
- Wingo, G. Max. *Philosophies of Education: An Introduction*. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1974.
- Woodhall, M. "Economics of Education: A Review." In *Economics of Education: Research and Studies*, edited by George Psacharopoulos, 1-8, 1987. New York: Pergamon Press, 1987.
- "The Youngest Workers: 14 and 15 year olds." *Education Digest* 51 (October 1985): 53-55.
- "Youth employment: curse or blessing?" *Children Today* 13 (January/February 1984): 6-8.

APPENDIX A
TAXONOMY OF EDUCATION REFORM CRISIS

CRISIS***RESPONSE BY DOCUMENTS*****Liberal****Conservative**

The State of the Nation	Crisis of inequality; poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, social ills are all too prevalent in the nation; we have not reached the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution	Crisis of competitiveness; the United States is losing its competitive edge in the world market place; perceived as not training enough scientists; cannot protect itself; issues of national security and national prosperity
The Students	Crisis of selfishness; lacking in a sense of community or connections;	Crisis of incompetence, US students lag behind their international peers; there is a softness of intellect
	Students should have certain skills; critical thinking, communication, etc.	Students should know certain facts; "back to the basics" and established subjects
	Crisis of rigidity; creativity is stifled, students aren't treated as participants in the educational process but rather as objects	Crisis of permissiveness; lack of discipline and order in the schools, a need to establish authority
Curriculum	Crisis of specialization; ethnocentric and outmoded, discourages discovery and quells enthusiasm, maintains status quo	Crisis of chaos; confused and fragmented, the necessary facts of the majority culture are not being taught

CRISIS***RESPONSE BY DOCUMENTS*****Liberal****Conservative****Citizenship**

Citizen is a political participant; education is to make wise decisions; social responsibility

Citizen is an economic input; workers to be taxed as contributors to Social Security, military, etc.

Economy

Equal opportunity

Work with business for local and national economic development

The Society

Solve social ills work with government to eradicate poverty, hunger, disease; share cultural riches; reduce prejudice and fear by promoting diversity

Work with military for national security - weapons and intelligence

APPENDIX B

SELECTIVE CHRONOLOGY OF FEDERAL LEGISLATION AND HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM¹

Federal legislation both directly and indirectly has stimulated change and reform of higher education. To fully document the complex influence of federal legislation on the higher education curriculum, student body, and faculty is beyond the scope of this study. But to understand higher education reform, the affects of legislative acts must be illustrated. In order to illustrate the relationship between legislation and higher education reform, the following chronology is presented to delineate federal legislative acts and purposes that in some way changed higher education institutions, both public and private. The chronology ends at 1966. Most of the federal legislation enacted after 1966 is characterized as amendments of the Higher Education Act of 1965 or acts specifically directed to elementary and secondary school problems. By 1965, federal involvement in the higher education curriculum and the composition of the student body is firmly established. Further detailing of such legislative acts would add to the chronology's comprehensiveness but not to reader

1. *Digest of Education Statistics, 1989*, (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1989): 325-332. Jane N. White and Collins W. Burnett, eds. *Higher Education Literature: An Annotated Bibliography*, (Phoenix, Ariz.: Oryx Press, 1981): 151-153. John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition*, (New York: Harper, 1976): 63, 219-237. Harold M. Hyman, *American Singularity*, (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1986).

understanding of the influence federal legislation has had on higher education reform.

Chronologies of federal programs and higher education are a common feature of higher education reference sources. This chronology draws heavily from such sources as well as from significant primary and secondary texts. In order to properly credit the compilation of information presented here and to aid reader understanding by organizing the information in a convenient and pleasing way, individual footnotes to specific ideas were abandoned in favor of a more expedient method. The sources consulted are listed in one footnote so marked at the beginning of Appendix B. Proper crediting of the ideas as well as assistance for further research should be served by this form.

<i>DATE</i>	<i>ACT</i>	<i>PURPOSE</i>	<i>RESULT</i>
1785	Lord Ordinance of 1785	Authorize grants of public domain for educational purposes	Establishment of state universities
1787	Northwest Ordinance	Authorize grants of public land for educational purposes	Furthered development of state universities by subsidizing public education
1862	Morrill Act	Authorized grants of public land for agricultural and mechanical education	Diversified the higher education curriculum
1887	Hatch Act	Provided for annual payments for the acquisition and dissemination of agricultural information	Spurred scientific investigation through furthering a body of scientific knowledge to teach
1890	Morrill Act	Required a technical curriculum to be taught. Denied funds to institutions that discriminated on the basis of race but provided for separate racial institutions.	Strengthen federal involvement in establishing curricula. Increased access to higher education for black Americans.
1906	Adams Act	Authorized grants for agricultural experiment stations	Strengthen results of Hatch Act
1911	State Marine School Act	Awarded federal funds for nautical schools in any of the eleven specified state seaport cities	Strengthen concept of congressional spending for education to benefit the general welfare

<i>DATE</i>	<i>ACT</i>	<i>PURPOSE</i>	<i>RESULT</i>
1917	Smith-Hughes Act	Supported vocational education through grants of money	Influenced the higher education curriculum
1918	Vocational Rehabilitation Act	Supported through grants the retraining of World War I veterans	Paved the way for the concept of education and retraining as a reward for military service thereby increasing access to education
1920	National Defense Act	Established ROTC	Combined military training with academic training
1936	Publication 74-415	Established U.S. Merchant Marine Academy	Strengthen concept of federal operation of special higher education institutions for the armed forces
1937	National Cancer Institute Act	Established Public Health Service fellowship program	Combined social responsibility philosophy with higher education funding
1944	Servicemen's Readjustment Act (G.I. Bill)	Gave federal assistance for World War II veterans to continue their education	Increased access to higher education by changing the student body. Expanded the middle class
1945	Fulbright Act	Provided funds for the exchange of U.S. school teachers, higher education faculty and students with other countries	Marked federal priority of global understanding and international education for the curriculum

<i>DATE</i>	<i>ACT</i>	<i>PURPOSE</i>	<i>RESULT</i>
1958	National Defense Education Act	Provided fund for programs in the national interest of defense	Affirms instrumental value of science and mathematics education for national security interest
1963	Higher Education Act of 1963	Provided grants and loans for classrooms, libraries and laboratories	Improved facilities through direct grants
1964	Civil Rights Act of 1964	Provided grants for in-service training to assist instructional staff with integration	Affirmed federal involvement in solving social problems
	Economic Opportunity Act of 1964	Authorized grants for students from low-income families by establishing the college work-study program	Increased access to higher education and expanded the middle class
1965	Higher Education of 1965	Authorized grants for community service, libraries, teacher training and graduate education. Guaranteed student loans	Heighten expectations of federal support for educational purposes
1966	International Education Act	Gave grants to strengthen international studies	Reaffirmed federal interest in the curriculum

APPENDIX C

LIST OF PANELISTS FOR SELECTED DOCUMENTS

A list of panelists is provided for those reports where identification of panelists was included in the document. Because not all of the reports listed their panelists, not all of the reports analyzed by the study are included in this appendix.

*Involvement in Learning*¹

Alexander W. Astin, University of California, Los Angeles
 J. Herman Blake, Tougaloo College
 Howard R. Bowen, Claremont Graduate School
 Zelda F. Gamson, University of Michigan
 Harold L. Hodgkinson, Institute for Educational Leadership
 Barbara Lee, Rutgers University
 Kenneth P. Mortimer, Chair, The Pennsylvania State University

*Integrity in the College Curriculum*²

Arnold B. Arons, Professor of Physics, Emeritus, University of Washington
 Ernest L. Boyer, President, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of
 Teaching
 David W. Breneman, President, Kalamazoo College

1. Study Group on the Conditions of Excellence in American Higher Education, *Involvement in Learning: Realizing the Potential of American Higher Education* (Alexandria, Va.: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 246 833, 1984): 8.

2. Project on Redefining the Meaning and Purpose of Baccalaureate Degrees, *Integrity in the College Curriculum: A Report to the Academic Community* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges, 1985): v-vi.

Carleton B. Chapman, Professor and Chairman, Department of the History of
Medicine, Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Yeshiva University
Martha E. Church, President, Hood College
Elizabeth Coleman, Professor of Literature and Humanities, New School for
Social Research
Harold L. Enarson, Senior Advisor, Western Interstate Commission for Higher
Education
Paul R. Gross, President and Director, Marine Biological Laboratory
Richard Kuhns, Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University
Arthur Levine, President, Bradford College
Theodore D. Lockwood, Director, Armand Hammer United World College of
the American West
Robert H. McCabe, President, Miami-Dade Community College
Charles Muscatine, Professor of English, University of California/Berkeley
Leonard Reiser, Fairchild Professor, Sherman Fairchild Center for the Physical
Sciences, Dartmouth College
Gresham Riley, President, Colorado College
Frederick Rudolph, Professor of History, Emeritus, Williams College
Linda B. Salamon, Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, Washington University
Jonathan Z. Smith, Robert O. Anderson Distinguished Service Professor,
University of Chicago
Mark H. Curtis, Select Committee Chair, President, Association of American
Colleges

*Tomorrow's Teachers*³

Contributors to the Written Report

Judith E. Lanier, Dean, College of Education, Michigan State University
David K. Cohen, Visiting Professor, College of Education, Michigan State
University
Michael W. Sedlak, Associate Professor, College of Education, Michigan State
University
Richard S. Prawat, Professor, College of Education, Michigan State University
Frank B. Murray, Dean, College of Education, University of Delaware
Richard Elmore, Professor, College of Education, Michigan State University
Marianne Amarel, Visiting Professor, College of Education, Michigan State
University

3. Holmes Group, *Tomorrow's Teachers* (East Lansing, Mich.: The Holmes Group, Inc., 1986): 78-85.

Gary A. Griffin, Dean, College of Education, University of Illinois, Chicago
 John R. Palmer, Dean, School of Education, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Participants in the Development of the Reform Agenda

- Marianne Amarel, Visiting Professor, College of Education, Michigan State University
- Donald P. Anderson, Dean, College of Education, Ohio State University
- J. Myron Atkin, Dean, School of Education, Stanford University
- Carl F. Berger, Dean, College of Education, University of Michigan
- Charles E. Bidwell, Chair, Department of Education, University of Chicago
- Jack E. Blackburn, Dean, School of Education, Auburn University
- Burton Blatt (deceased), Dean, School of Education, Syracuse University
- Frank Brown, Dean, School of Education, University of North Carolina
- Robert Bullough, Associate Professor, Graduate School of Education, University of Utah
- Joe R. Burnett, Professor, College of Education, University of Illinois-Champaign/Urbana
- Charles W. Case, Dean, College of Education, University of Iowa
- Nancy S. Cole, Dean, College of Education, University of Illinois-Champaign/Urbana
- James Cooper, Dean, School of Education, University of Virginia
- Dean C. Corrigan, Dean, College of Education, Texas A&M University
- James I. Doi, Dean, College of Education, University of Washington
- Carl J. Dolce, Dean, School of Education, North Carolina State University
- Mario D. Fantini, Dean, Graduate School of Education, University of Massachusetts
- Sharon Feiman-Nemser, Associate Professor, College of Education, Michigan State University
- William E. Gardner, Dean, College of Education, University of Minnesota
- William D. H. Georgiades, Dean, College of Education, University of Houston-University Park
- Bernard R. Gifford, Dean, School of Education, University of California-Berkeley
- Robert D. Gilberts, Dean, College of Education, University of Oregon
- Naftaly S. Glasman, Dean, Graduate School of Education, University of California-Santa Barbara
- C. Wayne Gordon, Professor, Graduate School of Education, University of California-Los Angeles

Patricia Albjerg Graham, Dean, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University

Gary A. Griffin, Dean, College of Education, University of Illinois, Chicago

Willis D. Hawley, Dean, Peabody College, Vanderbilt University

Harold L. Herber, Professor, School of Education, Syracuse University

Lorin Kennamer, Dean, College of Education, University of Texas-Austin

Karen Kepler-Zumwalt, Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University

Robert H. Koff, Dean, School of Education, State University of New York, Albany

Judith A. Lanier, Chair, Dean, College of Education, Michigan State University

Howard Mehlinger, Dean, School of Education, Indiana University

Cecil G. Miskel, Dean, School of Education, University of Utah

John O. Mulhern, Dean, College of Education, University of South Carolina

Frank B. Murray, Dean, College of Education, University of Delaware

Richard A. Navarro, Assistant Professor, College of Education, Michigan State University

Nel Noddings, Associate Professor, School of Education, Stanford University

John R. Palmer, Vice-Chair, Dean, School of Education, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Penelope Peterson, Professor, School of Education, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Hugh G. Petrie, Dean, Faculty of Educational Studies, State University of New York, Buffalo

Richard S. Prawat, Professor, College of Education, Michigan State University

James Rath, Professor, College of Education, University of Illinois-Champaign/Urbana

Mark R. Shibles, Dean, School of Education, University of Connecticut

Lewis C. Solomon, Dean, Graduate School of Education, University of California-Los Angeles

P. Michael Timpane, President, Teachers College, Columbia University

Alan R. Tom, Chair, Department of Education, Washington University

Richard L. Turner, Dean, School of Education, University of Colorado

Fred H. Wood, Dean, College of Education, University of Oklahoma

Sam J. Yarger, Dean, School of Education, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Consultants, Advisors, and Discussants

Terrell H. Bell, Professor, School of Education, University of Utah

Mario A. Benitez, Professor, College of Education, University of Texas-Austin

- H. S. Broudy, Professor Emeritus, College of Education, University of Illinois-Champaign/Urbana
- Robert Bush, Professor, School of Education, Stanford University
- David L. Clark, Professor, School of Education, Indiana University
- George H. Copa, Professor and Chair, Department of Vocational and Technical Education, College of Education, University of Minnesota
- Cindy Currence, Media Consultant and Free-lance Writer, Williamsburg, Virginia
- Olaf Davidson, President, American College Testing Program
- Tom Enderlein, Project Officer, Secretary's Discretionary Grant, U.S. Department of Education
- Richard Ferguson, Executive Vice-President, American College Testing Program
- Edwin Goldwasser, Vice-President for Academic Affairs, University of Illinois-Champaign/Urbana
- John Goodlad, Professor, College of Education, University of Washington
- Mildred Barnes Griggs, Professor, College of Education, University of Illinois-Champaign/Urbana
- Judith K. Grosenick, Associate Dean, College of Education, University of Oregon
- Henry Halsted, Vice President, The Johnson Foundation
- Dan Lortie, Professor, Department of Education, University of Chicago
- Edward J. Meade, Jr., Chief Program Officer, The Ford Foundation
- Frank Newman, President, Education Commission of the States,
- Donald D. O'Dowd, Executive Deputy Chancellor, State University of New York
- Robert M. O'Neil, President, University of Virginia
- Gary Glen Price, Professor, College of Education, University of Wisconsin-Madison
- Marilyn Rauth, Executive Director, Educational Issues Department, American Federation of Teachers
- Richard Remington, Vice-President for Academic Affairs, University of Iowa
- Maynard C. Reynolds, Professor, College of Education, University of Minnesota
- Sharon Robinson, Director, Instruction and Professional Development, National Education Association
- Bella Rosenberg, Associate Director of Public Relations, American Federation of Teachers
- Phillip Schlechty, Professor, School of Education, University of North Carolina
- Lee S. Shulman, Professor, School of Education, Stanford University
- Peter Smith, Lieutenant Governor, State of Vermont

Ida Santos Stewart, Associate Professor and Chair, Early Childhood Education,
College of Education, University of Houston

Henry T. Trueba, Professor, Graduate School of Education, University of
California-Santa Barbara

Marc S. Tucker, Executive Director, Carnegie Forum on Education and the
Economy

C. L. Winder, Vice-President for Academic Affairs and Provost, Michigan State
University

Arthur Wise, Director, Center for the Study of the Teaching Professor, The
Rand Corporation

*One Third of a Nation*⁴

Dr. Frank H. T. Rhodes, President, Cornell University, Commission Chair

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford, Honorary Co-Chair

The Honorable Jimmy Carter, Honorary Co-Chair

The Honorable John Ashcroft, Governor, State of Missouri

Dr. Terrell H. Bell, Former U.S. Secretary of Education, Adjunct Professor,
University of Utah

Mr. Thornton Bradshaw, Director, General Electric Company

Dr. Alice Chandler, President, State University College at New Paltz (NY)

The Honorable Henry Cisneros, Mayor, San Antonio, Texas

The Honorable William J. Clinton, Governor, State of Arkansas

Dr. William G. Demmert, Commissioner of Education, State of Alaska

Mr. Edward Donley, Chairman, Air Products and Chemicals, Inc.

Dr. Marian Wright Edelman, President, Children's Defense Fund

The Reverend Timothy S. Healy, President, Georgetown University

Mr. Fred Hechinger, President, New York Times Foundation

Dr. Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women

Mr. Benjamin Hooks, Executive Director, National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People

Dr. Stanley O. Ikenberry, President, University of Illinois

Mr. John Jacob, President, National Urban League

Dr. Barbara Jordan, Former U.S. Representative, Professor, Lyndon B. Johnson
School of Public Affairs, University of Texas

4. Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life, *One Third of a Nation* (Alexandria, Va.: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 297 057, 1988): 3.

The Honorable Thomas Kean, Governor, State of New Jersey
 Sister Dorothy Ann Kelly, President, College of New Rochelle
 Mrs. Coretta Scott King, Director, Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for
 Nonviolent Social Change
 Mr. Ted Koppel, Anchor, Nightline, ABC News
 Ambassador Sol Linowitz, Senior Partner, Coudert Brothers
 Dr. Wilma P. Mankiller, Principal Chief, Cherokee Nation
 Dr. Franklin D. Murphy, Former Chairman of Board and CEO, Times Mirror
 Co.
 The Honorable Edmund Muskie, Former U.S. Senator and Secretary of State,
 Attorney, Chadbourne & Parke
 The Honorable Rudolph Perpich, Governor, State of Minnesota
 Mr. Donald E. Petersen, Chairman, Ford Motor Company
 Mr. Alan Pifer, Chairman, Southport Institute for Policy Analysis
 Mr. William Rogers, Former U.S. Attorney General and Secretary of State,
 Attorney, Rogers and Wells
 Dr. Harold T. Shapiro, President, Princeton University
 Dr. Kenneth A. Shaw, President, University of Wisconsin
 Mr. Franklin A. Thomas, President, The Ford Foundation
 Dr. Lawrence W. Tyree, Chancellor, Dallas County Community College District
 (TX)
 Mr. Peter V. Ueberroth, Commissioner, Major League Baseball
 Mr. Cyrus Vance, Former U.S. Secretary of State, Attorney, Simpson, Thacter,
 and Bartlett

EX OFFICIO

Mr. Robert H. Atwell, President, American Council on Education
 Dr. Judith S. Eaton, President, Community College of Philadelphia, Chair,
 American Council on Education
 Dr. Frank Newman, President, Education Commission of the States

*America's Competitive Challenge*⁵

R. Anderson, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, Rockwell International Corporation, Task Force Co-Chairman, Chairman, Business-Higher Education Forum
 David S. Saxon, President, University of California, Task Force Co-Chairman
 Derek C. Bok, President, Harvard University
 Philip Caldwell, Chairman, Ford Motor Company
 Edward Donley, Chairman, Air Products and Chemicals, Inc.
 Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., President, University of Notre Dame
 Gerald D. Laubach, President, Pfizer, Inc.
 James E. Olson, Vice Chairman of the Board, American Telephone & Telegraph Co.
 Wesley W. Posvar, Chancellor, University of Pittsburgh
 John F. Burlingame, Vice Chairman of the Board, General Electric Company
 Richard M. Cyert, President, Carnegie-Mellon University
 Paul H. Henson, Chairman, United Telecommunications, Inc.
 Matine A. Horner, President, Radcliffe College
 Robert Q. Marston, President, University of Florida
 J. W. Pelatson, President, American Council on Education
 Clifton R. Wharton, Jr., Chancellor, State University of New York System

*A Nation Prepared*⁶

Lewis M. Branscomb, Chairman, Chief Scientist and Vice-President, International Business Machines Corporation, Armonk, New York
 Alan K. Campbell, Vice-Chairman of the Board and Executive Vice-President, ARA Services, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
 Mary Hatwood Futrell, President, National Education Association, Washington, D.C.
 John W. Gardner, Writer and Consultant, Washington, D.C.
 Fred M. Hechinger, President, The New York Times Company Foundation, New York, New York

5. Business-Higher Education Forum, *America's Competitive Challenge: The Need for a National Response* (Washington, D.C.: Business-Higher Education Forum, 1983): iv-v.

6. Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy. Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century* (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1986): iv.

Bill Honig, Superintendent of Public Instruction, State of California,
Sacramento, California
James B. Hunt, Attorney, Poyner & Spruill, Raleigh, North Carolina
Vera Katz, Speaker of the Oregon House of Representatives, Salem, Oregon
Thomas H. Kean, Governor of New Jersey, Trenton, New Jersey
Judith E. Lanier, Dean, College of Education, Michigan State University, East
Lansing, Michigan
Arturo Madrid, President, The Thomas Rivera Center, Claremont, California
Shirley M. Malcolm, Program Head, Office of Opportunities in Science,
American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, D.C.
Ruth E. Randall, Commissioner of Education, State of Minnesota, Saint Paul,
Minnesota
Albert Shanker, President, American Federation of Teachers, Washington, D.C.

*'To Secure the Blessings of Liberty'*⁷

Terrel H. Bell, Professor of Educational Administration, University of Utah,
Chair
Alice Chandler, President, State University College at New Paltz, New York,
Vice Chair, Northeastern Region
E. K. Fretwell, Jr., Chancellor, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Vice
Chair, Southeastern Region
John Porter, President, Eastern Michigan University, Vice Chair, Midwestern
Region
W. Ann Reynolds, Chancellor, California State University, Vice Chair, Western
Region

Commissioners:

Alexander Astin, Director, Higher Education Research Institute, University of
California, Los Angeles
William Oliver Baker, Chairman of the Board (Retired), AT&T-Bell
Laboratories
Alison Bernstein, Program Officer, The Ford Foundation

7. American Association of State Colleges and Universities. National Commission on the Role and Future of the State Colleges and Universities. *'To Secure the Blessings of Liberty'* (Washington, D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1986): 42.

Shirley Browning, Professor of Economics, University of North Carolina at Asheville
 Mary Clark, Professor of Biology, San Diego State University, California
 The Honorable William Clinton, Governor, State of Arkansas
 Ruth Clusen, Regent, University of Wisconsin System
 The Honorable Wilhelmina Delco, Representative, Texas State Legislature
 Mary Furrell, President, National Education Association
 James Gilbert, President, East Stroudsburg University of Pennsylvania
 Rob Patterson, former President, Associated Student Government, Southwest Texas State University
 Nathan Quinones, Chancellor, New York City Board of Education
 Albert Shanker, President, American Federation of Teachers
 Hoke Smith, President, Towson State University, Maryland
 David Strand, Vice President and Provost, Illinois State University
 W. Carl Wimberly, Vice Chancellor, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse
 William Winter, Partner, Watkins, Ludlam & Stennis, former Governor, State of Mississippi